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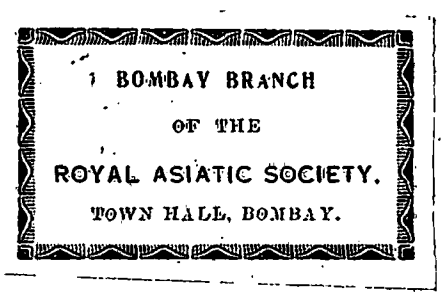

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HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL

MEMOIRS

OF

THE REIGN OF LEWIS XVI.

FROM

HIS MARRIAGE TO HIS DEATH:

Founded on a Variety of Authentic Documents, furnished to the Author, before the Revolution, by many eminent Statesmen and Ministers; and on the Secret Papers discovered, after the 10th of August 1792, in the Closets of the King at Versailles and the Tuileries:

BY JOHN LEWIS SOULAVIE,

THE ELDER,

COMPILER OF THE MEMOIRS OF MARSHAL DUKE OF RICHELIEU, AND OF THE MEMOIRS OF THE DUKE OF ST. SIMON.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

Accompanied with Explanatory Tables, and One Hundred and Thirteen Portraits.

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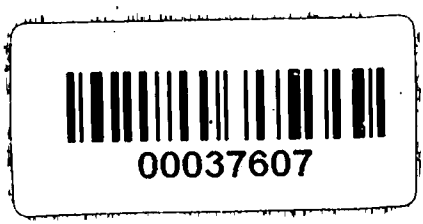
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OF THE

REIGN OF LEWIS XVI.

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Continuation of the Ministry of M. Turgot—He proposes to alter the Form of the Coronation Oath, and to transfer the Ceremony to Paris—His anti-Religious Opinions.—Alarms of the Clergy—Portrait of the Clergy of France at the Accession of Lewis XVI.—Of the Mass of that Body—Of the Infidel Minority among them.—Of another Minority, distinguished by peculiar Claims to Sanctity and Zeal for the Interests of Religion—Portraits of Dillon, Cicé, Boisgelin, Loménie, Colbert, and others of the first Minority.—Of Jarente, Minister of the Ecclesiastical Department under M. de Choiseul.—History of the Remonstrances of the first Assembly of the French Bishops in 1775.—The Clergy nominate certain philosophical and infidel Prelates to confer with the King against Philosophers and Infidels.—Picture of the Manners of the French presented to the King by the Bishops on his Accession.—Predictions of the Downfall of the Throne and the Church, from the same Causes—The Bishops, in 1775, affirm, that the Throne will be overturned when there shall be no longer Virtue in France.—The Clergy combine their Complaints against Protestantism, with their Complaints against Philosophy.—Answer of Lewis XVI.

THE coronation of the king furnished a remarkable occasion, upon which M. Turgot began to disclose his principles concerning the

monarchy. He proposed, that the ceremony should take place at Paris, partly from motives of economy, and to counteract the sentiment of local devotion; and partly, to weaken the force of religious recollections, as that of the baptism of Clovis, and annihilate the fable, already discarded by the critics, of the holy oil brought down from heaven in the beak of a dove. He also attempted to introduce a change into the form of the oath, conceiving it, as it stood, to be too indulgent to the clergy and too negligent of the people. He disapproved particularly the clause for "exterminating heretics," which had already been modified at the accession of Lewis XIII. and Lewis XIV.; and, for the illusory engagement, never to extend mercy to duelists, he wished to substitute that of sparing no effort to put an end to so censurable a practice.

Nothing can be more remarkable, or more worthy of the sober consideration of statesmen, than the conduct of the clergy at this period. The great mass of the ecclesiastical body showed themselves timid, superstitious, and apprehensive, as to the fate impending over them. Their prosperity was united to that of the monarchy. If the church triumphed in its contest against the philosophers, it would secure to itself its property, its benefices, its bishoprics, its abbeys, its convents, its forests, its immense

landed estates, its feudal claims, and its tithes, together with its crosiers, mitres, cathedrals, and processions. It would retain the clearest and most profitable portion of the soil of France; it would retain its situation in the state, of which, since Clovis, it had been a constituent and constitutive part; it would retain in the palatine provinces, and in the states-general, its individual, incommunicable authority; an authority, without the concurrence of which, the other orders were powerless; it would be itself the conservative principle of the fundamental laws of France and of her general manners, the standard of faith, doctrine, and morals, founded on ancient right, and uninterrupted succession. It had succeeded immediately to the druids, inheriting their altars, their temples, and their ascendency over the people at large. Clovis, conqueror of the Gauls, and the Franks, the associates of his victory, had formerly bowed their haughty crests before its liturgies, its rules of abstinence, and its records of doctrine. The style of the French sovereigns, in their patents, their edicts, and their treaties, was that of *most Christian king*. It was about the commencement of the reign of Lewis XVI., that there arose, in the very body of the clergy itself, that philosophical or political minority, the temper and views of which it belongs to these Memoirs,

without exaggeration, and without softening, faithfully to delineate.

This "ecclesiastico-political party," known in the Gallican church by the name of the "prelate ministers," openly adhered to the cause of Turgot and Malesherbes. One of the personages who composed this party, was M. Dillon, archbishop of Narbonne, and president of the states of Languedoc, a man of talents, notwithstanding a natural indolence of temper, and who had greatly contributed to the flourishing state of commerce, industry, and the arts, in that part of France. He had been in habits of intercourse with M. Turgot, and afterwards with Mr. Necker, by whom he was consulted on affairs relating to that province. He aspired to the cardinalship, and his merit would probably have obtained it, but for the aversion of the queen, who constantly opposed his succeeding to Maurepas. Had he obtained it, it would have been fortunate for France, since, if he had entered into the administration, it is not unlikely, that the strong, though unknown abilities he possessed, would have delivered her from the perpetual fluctuations she was subject to, both under Maurepas and Vergennes; and that, the church being thus united in council with Turgot and Necker, the prosperity we have witnessed, in the fine province of Languedoc,

would have been established through the whole kingdom.

Upon the same canvas with M. Dillon, appeared the archbishop of Toulouse, Loménie de Brienne. He was jealous of the talents of Dillon; and, to oppose him, brought into action all the resources of an understanding, moderate indeed and superficial, but fertile in expedients; to which were added, a reputation he did not merit, and the distinguished favour of the queen. All who had closely observed his conduct, were filled with dismay in the anticipation of his being raised, by the influence of the queen, to the office of minister, in spite of the repugnance of the king, who disliked him. Loménie had attached himself to Turgot, from the beginning of the reign of Lewis XVI., and took every occasion, at court, to manifest his adherence to the revolutionary system of innovation. Devoted to the queen's party, the intimate friend of the abbé de Vermont, and nourishing his vanity by a public display of his pretensions to succeed to M. de Maurepas, a post of ordinary consideration was too little to satisfy his ambitious views. He aspired to that of prime minister; and, perhaps, would soon have succeeded in this project; but that M. Vergennes, who was in the king's confidence, took care to increase the aversion which

already existed in the mind of the monarch towards him. In a subsequent instance, the epoch of the dismissal of M. de Calonne, the queen undertook his cause with more success, gained the king to her views, and raised Brienne to the head of affairs.

Boisgelin, archbishop of Aix, was also of the number of political prelates of Turgot's party. With less power and success, he filled the same department in Provence as Dillon in Languedoc; and both Boisgelin and Dillon, now in a state of banishment, have claims to the gratitude of every patriotic Frenchman, for the services they rendered to the respective provinces over which they presided.

Cicé, archbishop of Bourdeaux, La Luzerne, bishop of Langres, pupil and *ancien grand-vicaire* to Dillon, Colbert, bishop of Rhodes, and some others, affected, with the preceding prelates, to profess the prevailing opinions, which comprised a spirit of reform, approving what did not exist, rejecting old forms, and receiving new ones, with systematic blindness.

If we except, however, in our estimate, this innovating spirit, with which history reproaches them, we have yet ample room for bestowing commendation on those prelates; for in Provence and Languedoc, they so ably conducted their administration, that, with all the devastation

occasioned by the fury of the revolutionary powers that succeeded them, these provinces enjoy so fully the benefit of their measures, that the inhabitants still exclaim with exultation, and I glory in being one among the number, "This was the work of M Dillon, archbishop of Narbonne!" M. Dillon at present resides in London in the bosom of his family; and now, that the eulogium of virtue and talents is in France no longer considered as a crime, I feel particular gratification in allotting to him the place in my work that is so justly his due.

Such were the men who chiefly distinguished themselves among the French clergy; and they derived their strength, their celebrity, and their credit, from their connexion with government, the economists, and the new philosophers.

This faction was held in detestation, and, of course, virulently calumniated by the prelates of the opposite party, at the head of whom was M. de Beaumont, archbishop of Paris; a party of zealots, whose relations with government consisted merely in opposing to its measures the sacred canons, and the holy fathers, St. Augustin, St. Thomas, and St. Jerome, pious personages, for whose authority under Lewis XIII., Lewis XIV., and even so lately as Lewis XV., government had retained an high degree of veneration. As a proof of the respect in which these monarchs held their decisions,

may be cited the superb editions of the councils and of the fathers, printed by authority at the the Louvre.

Under Lewis XVI., MM. Dillon, Loménie, Cicé, and Boisgelin, enjoyed the same consideration that had before been bestowed on the earlier fathers of the church; but the royal press, instead of Latin productions, now sent forth *mémoires économiques* of the bishop-ministers, and works of science. These were the means of exciting a secret and corroding jealousy in the mind of M. de Beaumont, archbishop of Paris, and in that of the jesuitical portion of the clergy; but unfortunately for this faction, its partisans had begun to diminish. The catholics among them who had any belief in religion were divided. The believers of the jansenist party, in open opposition, and frequently in a state of hostility against the archbishop, deprived their party of much of its strength, and much of its weight; while the believers of the jesuits' party were beaten on all sides, and oppressed by all the authorities rendered victorious through the intrigues of the faction, particularly since M. de Choiseul had abolished the order of jesuits, and appointed M. de Jarente to superintend the ecclesiastical nominations.

Notwithstanding this, there still remained a numerous, though inactive body, among the

clergy, who were of the true orthodox faith. This majority owed its advantages to M. Boyer, an ignorant and visionary prelate, but at the same time benevolent, just, and pious. He had been placed at the head of the ecclesiastical department by cardinal Fleury, for the purpose of regulating the prelacy of the Gallican church. This majority was also indebted for its exiſtence to M. de Jarente, bishop of Digne, and afterwards biſhop of Orleans, who had filled the same department from the year 1757; a prelate without principle and without faith, addicted to debaucheries which disgraced his situation, devoting himself to the prevailing court party, of whom M. de Choiseul was at the head, and undertaking to form the prelacy of members, whose morals and opinions should be the reverse of those required by M. Boyer, who had been his predecessor in the same office.

Thus, at the accession of Lewis XVI. to the throne, the clergy of France was composed of a majority partly distinguished by piety, superstition, and ignorant credulity, and partly by luxury and libertinism, revelling in the pleasures of the capital, to the total neglect of their provincial and episcopal functions.

The clergy were afterwards divided into two minorities, of which one was atheiſtical, and the other fanatical; so that the excess of religion

in Beaumont's party, and the deficiency in that of the archbishop of Toulouse, were in evident contradiction with the mass of the Gallican church, whose nullity and insignificance exposed it to the attack of every opinion and interest. Augustan age of the Bourdaloues, the Massillons, the Bossuets, the Fenelons, the solitaries of Port Royal, what would you have become under the influence and administration of the jesuits, of the sulpiciens, of Boyer, and of cardinal Fleury?

That what I have described was the real state of the French clergy in the year 1775, I can assert from my own experience; for I conceive myself under the old establishment to have been situated so favourably, that, having no intereſt to bias me, I could not fail to observe fairly all their parties and all their factions. They exerted themselves, however, in their general assembly of 1775, upon seeing Turgot and Malesherbes, noted infidels, established near the throne, in possession of the royal power, and instilling already their opinions into the mind of the young monarch. They believed, with reason, that they saw a cloud gathering over their heads. They were aware of the plans M. Turgot had formed against them, which we shall develope in the course of this work; and the religionists among the pre-

lates expressed their sentiments openly, and proposed to make a representation to the king of the progress of immorality, the pretensions of the protestants,* the rivality of the two churches, which seemed to menace the tranquillity of the state, the liberty of the press, become the scourge of religion, and the indications they perceived of a revolution in France.

Such was the cry of the majority of the clergy in 1775; and they selected from their body, for the purpose of conferring with the king on the dangers of philosophy, a prelate of simple, upright, and engaging manners, whom M. de Voltaire, jealous of his talents, and irritated by his religious zeal, most shamefully insulted. This prelate was M. de Pompignan, who presided in the conſtituent assembly during the three orders in 1789, to the epoch of the crisis of their reunion. He was a man of letters, and had written a book, *On the State of Morals and Religion in France*, which the clergy were anxious to adopt and present to the court. M. Pompignan was beloved by the pious among the clergy, and was at the same time not without the esteem and confidence of its philosophers. The assembly added to Pompignan, Loménie, archbishop of Toulouse, and the abbé de Talleyrand Perigord, recently elected *promoteur* of the French clergy, and

now minister of the republic, to make representations to the king against philosophy and the protestants. The abbé de Talleyrand had the reputation of being a man of penetration, fertile in ideas and resources, possessing a strong understanding, and addicted to pleasures. It was certainly a singular proceeding on the part of the assembly of the clergy, to elect from their body these philosophical bishops, who were to point out to Lewis XVI. the dangers of philosophy. Several other members, but of inferior consideration, were also appointed to prepare the representations.

The court nominated on its part for deputies, M. Turgot, and afterwards M. de Malesherbes. Philosophy was denounced to the nation by its friends and protectors, the philosophers of the court, and the philosophers of the clergy. Reflecting observers could not restrain a smile at so singular an association; and I believe I may with fairness conclude, knowing as I do the opinions of M. de Malesherbes on the subject, that the deputies themselves, when they met, followed in that respect the example of the augurs of ancient Rome, and preserved no great gravity of countenance. France was now in the very act of renouncing religion for atheism; and, as yet inexperienced in the perils of so cruel a metamorphosis, she too might

be allowed to smile. The sanguinary and terrible transformation of some of our catholic provinces into protestant provinces was forgotten; and the price that would sooner or later be paid for the system of religious reform employed by the constituent assembly, to render the ancient clergy of France a constitutional clergy, did not enter into the calculation.

The archbishop of Toulouse, president of the department for religious affairs, represented to the committee, that, ever since the year 1750, the clergy had been complaining to the king of the licence and impunity of such publications as were destructive of religion. The archbishop was right; for it was about the middle of the century that encroaching principles of infidelity began to show themselves. He then proceeded to state the ineffectual remonstrances made by the assembly in 1755, again in 1760, and, lastly, in 1770 and 1772. These remonstrances have already had a place in this work *. The archbishop of Toulouse observed, that the condition and efforts of the clergy had produced them nothing but unavailing censures, and criticisms from the press; that the monster irreligion, instead of becoming weaker, gained new vigour every day; and he proposed, as a

* See Vol. I. chap. XIV.

remedy, the forming societies of authors, to be employed in defence of the church. "The enemies of Christianity confederate," said he, "to undermine its foundations: Why then should not men of letters unite, to defend it by their talents?" In addition to this remedy, the archbishop proposed, that the nation should again be addressed on the dangers which menaced its morals and faith. He cited an advertisement of this kind, drawn up by Pompignan, and enforced the necessity of awakening the attention of the king to the condition of religion in his states.

On the 24th of September, 1775, the archbishop of Toulouse, invested with the powers of the general assembly of the clergy, proceeded, together with M. Pompignan and the abbé Talleyrand, to Versailles, for the purpose of presenting the remonstrances agreed upon.

"Your majesty," said the deputation, "will see, in the memorial we have the honour to present, the ministers of what is called the reformed religion, raising altars and temples, convoking assemblies, forming districts, levying contributions on your subjects, administering baptism and the Lord's supper, and consecrating illegitimate marriages. We flatter ourselves, that your majesty, sensible of the temerity of these men, will issue orders for the termination of their enterprises.

"The other part of the remonstrances we present to your majesty, offers a view of dangers still more pressing. Infidelity pervades all ages, ranks, and conditions. The hydra atheism is become the prevailing opinion *. Its fatal influence on morals, and their consequent depravity, together with the spirit of independence it inspires, are truly alarming. The security of regal authority cannot exist without that of religion. Religion alone gives to the throne of kings the surest, the most unassailable support, the obligation of CONSCIENCE, that pillar which sustains the throne of God himself in the mind of man.

"We do not dissemble, sire, that it is principally by our instructions and examples that infidelity can be repelled; and did we stand in need of any new engagement to stimulate us to the performance of our duties in this respect, it naturally presents itself in the earnestness and solemnity with which we have demanded this audience. But the cause of God is also that of the king.

"The systems of infidelity are now promulgated without even the former precaution of mystery; the number of authors is unfortu-

* The archbishop of Toulouse, during his studies in the Sorbonne, had supported, with the abbé Prades, the doctrine of materialism, and no doubt was well informed of what was asserted.

nately increased, by the facility with which productions upon this subject are disposed of. They are announced in catalogues, exposed in the shops, introduced into private houses, lie open on the tables of the first families in the state, and have even found their way into this august palace, where your majesty is receiving our homage, and meditating proper means to extirpate disorder from the kingdom.

"Nor are such writings as these the only arms with which infidelity is furnished: works absolutely foreign to the subject of religion are tainted with its venom, and exhibit a similar spirit of perfidy, irony, and derision. History, philosophy, poetry, the sciences, the theatres, and the arts themselves, have all embraced its cause.

"With what rapidity, sire, does infidelity extend its empire! The capital is made the common centre of its seductions; its ravages have penetrated our provinces, usurped a station in our towns and villages, in the cabinets of men of letters, in conversation, and among all conditions, elevated or obscure, all ages and all classes of citizens *.

* At this epoch, Loménie, Boisgelin, and Cicé, were cited as philosophical bishops; nevertheless, the clergy have passed over *themselves* in this truly curious picture which they have given of the metamorphosis of France from a religious and Christian state to a nation of infidels.

"Some attachment to religion is still indeed retained by the multitude; but it is not the less true, that infidelity seduces young authors by the lure of a premature celebrity, and that, once admitted into the abodes of the great, it turns their credit, their authority, and their influence, to its own advantage. It has initiated even that sex whose former piety was the consolation of the church. The sources thus corrupted, the youth of France, that portion of your subjects so highly interesting, will, in a course of time, furnish society with masters, instructors, fathers, magistrates, and agents of all kinds, who will have contracted, by nature and taste, the habits and language of irreligion *.

"And who, sire, will venture to promise, that irreligion has left untouched and uncontaminated that education, the most important of all, on which depends the fate of future generations, and perhaps at some period, not far distant, the fate of your kingdom itself. The projects of irreligion are boundless; what it has not yet subdued, it menaces. Take away religion from the people, and you will see what excesses, perversity, assisted by misery, is capable of; take away religion

* It was precisely the generation here spoken of, that, fourteen years after, effected the revolution, and overturned the clergy and the throne.

from the higher classes, and you will see, from the union of passion and power, the most odious and atrocious actions proceed. If the most natural and honourable sentiments are banished, and the despicable love of riches * predominates in every heart; if children, who ought to be the glory and consolation, are the opprobrium and torment of their families; if the people are guilty of premeditated crimes, and their superiors no longer susceptible of the glorious heroism which animated the breasts of their ancestors; finally, if suicide begins to brave the empire of the laws and of character, we may discover the cause of these various evils in that irreligious spirit, which annihilates at once all the ties of blood, of nature, and of authority.

" The manners of our fathers were certainly not exempt from reproach, but their errors were neither shameless nor universal; vice had not yet discarded modesty and remorse. They were vicious from *weakness:* it was reserved for the present generation to be vicious from *system.* And what curb can restrain men, who unite the depravity of the heart to that of the head, who erect their dreams into *systems,* and their crimes into *merits?*

" Infidelity, sire, has yet another guilt to an-

* M. de Lomenie, who is now speaking, secured to himself 100,000 crowns of the property of the clergy.

swer for, which is the spirit of independence it inspires.

"God forbid that we should throw any imputation on the attachment of the nation for their king! This will survive every virtue in the hearts of the French *.

"But from what source are we to deduce the present general fermentation, which tends to dissolve all the bonds of society; that restless and inquisitive spirit, which every individual exercises respecting the operations of government, respecting its rights, and the limitations of those rights †? From what quarter have flowed the principles, so ripe among us, that are destructive of every basis of authority?

"All these disorders, sire, are necessarily and indissolubly connected with each other. The foundations of morals and political authority must perish with those of religion.

"Kings, sire, have in their hands a most ef-

* According to this reasoning, the monarchy ought quickly to have perished; for, to judge from the preceding picture, which the archbishop of Toulouse has drawn of the manners of the French, there scarcely remained a laudable quality among them. Indeed, it must be confessed, that the close of the reign of Lewis XV. had diffused a portion of degradation and disgrace through the whole country.

† The government itself, the clergy, and the *pays d'état*, voluntarily drew upon themselves the public curiosity, by the publication of their *comptes rendus*, and their *procès verbaux*

ficacious mean for the support of religion and virtue, which is that of rewards. Far be it from us to give countenance to false reports, groundless suspicions, and insidious tales, the ordinary engines of intrigue and ambition *. But, let irreligious and immoral men feel that they have no chance for your majesty's favour. Let the pious and virtuous have a claim upon your esteem and your confidence. Let the offices of administration, most intimately concerned with public morals, be confided to those, who, while they serve you, are able to make themselves respected. Let literature tender none of her honours but to those who shall merit them by the continence and decency of their productions. Never let infidelity and licentiousness, by any oversight or accident, obtain the confidence of the throne. Let the qualities that characterise your majesty, for ever serve as models for your subjects, and as aids to administrative justice. You will then soon behold order restored through every portion of your realm. Men of letters will cultivate their ta-

* M. Turgot was mentioned equally by the free-thinkers and the devotees, as the preceptor of Lewis XVI. in matters of religion. Turgot, it was said, had rendered him a philosopher, a free-thinker, and an economist. I have my information from the chief almoner of the countess of Artois, that the clergy and the court, in 1776, were completely of that opinion.

lents without prostituting them. Your nobility, whose opinions take their tone from those of the literary classes; your people, whose conduct is moulded by that of your nobility; in a word, every order of the state will return to the paths of religion, integrity, and honour.

"We conjure you, sire, by the holy oil with which you have been anointed, by the sacred oath you have so recently pronounced; we conjure you by all that is most dear to the honour of your crown, to the prosperity of your reign, and that of your subjects, and to the maintenance of your royal prerogative; we conjure you by the sacred ashes of your illustrious predecessors, who, with this empire, have bequeathed to you religion, as the most precious of all inheritances, in the name of all the churches of France, whose grief and consternation it is impossible for us to express, in the name of that respectable portion of your subjects, who deprecate the anarchy that impends over us; we conjure you, sire, to cherish with all your care, and to support with all your authority, the dying cause of religion and virtue."

The clergy of France believed that it did not become them to separate their remonstrances against infidelity from those which it had to make against protestantism. "This sect," said they, "long condemned by the joint au-

thorities of church and ſtate, dares again to rear its head. Formerly it was intimidated by the severity of the laws; it was held down by the zeal of a vigilant police, and it hid itself in the solitude of deserts and the shades of night. Now it unfurls in the face of day the standard of schism. Its preachers, with unremitted industry, disseminate their impious maxims. They commemorate the death of our saviour, they profane the rights of marriage.

"We pretend not, sire, to investigate the causes of this liberty, which the protestants enjoy *. Deign to inquire, to inform yourself, why, in contempt of all authority, these schismatics have dared to convert their houses into temples, and even, in some provinces, to build churches for their forms of worship, in open defiance of the government.

"Inform yourself why, sire, unions, which canonical and civil laws alike condemn, are with impunity contracted at their conventicles, under the name of marriage †; or why, contrary to the will of the prince, they dare to ravish every day from the ministers of our holy

* M. Turgot and M. de Malesherbes were the friends of the protestants.

† Where, let me ask, could they be married? The parochial clergy demanded billets of confession, or other proofs of adherence to a faith, which the conscience of protestants taught them to abjure.

religion, tender infants, to submit them to the teachers of heresy and falsehood, who infuse the poison of error with the first nourishment they receive *? Who has encouraged these teachers of lies, sacrilegious rivals of the Gallican priesthood, to usurp the name and the rights of pastors of the catholic church? Who can have urged on these preachers thus shamelessly to brave the laws of the state? Can the source of so tremendous a licence be so closely hidden, that your majesty cannot discover it? Can its principles be so deep, that your majesty is unable to destroy it? Permit us, sire, to address you with that boldness, which we derive from our sacred function, and which is not less incumbent upon us in speaking to you, than in speaking to the meanest of your subjects. It is your duty to destroy the evil in its commencement and in its progress: the remedy is in your power. You, sire, will condemn the counsels of a false pacification, the systems of a tolerance capable of subverting your throne, and of plunging France in an abyss of evils.

* The law here referred to by the clergy in their address to Lewis XVI., was the edict of a tyrant promulgated in 1724. They forgot, when they referred to it, that it was contrary to the fundamental principles of our church, which has constantly proscribed the carrying off the children, even of Jews, from their parents, to educate them in the tenets of the Christian faith.

We conjure you, not to lose a moment, in dashing from the grasp of error the hope ever to erect among us its temples and its altars. Finish the work that Lewis the Great began, and that Lewis the Well beloved so diligently prosecuted. It is reserved for you to give the finishing blow to calvinism in all your states. Give the word for the dispersing the conventicles of these schismatics: banish all sectaries, without distinction, from every branch of the public administration *. This, and this only, will secure among your subjects the unity of the catholic worship."

Lewis XVI. replied to the clergy, that he had read their memorials; that no measures should on his part be omitted to arrest the progress of the licentiousness and impiety of which they complained; and that he would consider of the possibility of adding some effective clauses to the laws which already existed, respecting the sale of books. With respect to the protestants, he said, he would inform himself of the facts which excited the complaints of the clergy; that he had lately issued orders for repressing certain enterprises undertaken by these religionists; but, that the more such enterprises

* Mr. Necker had just published an essay on the freedom of the commerce of corn; and a rumour had been spread, that he would be raised to a place in the government.

became multiplied, the more they would require his profound attention; and that he trusted the bishops, by their wisdom, and by their example, would persevere in contributing to the success of his endeavours.

The cardinal, president of the clergy, delivered to the assembly the answers he had received through M. de Malesherbes. The assembly, little satisfied, unanimously deliberated on a renewal of remonstrances, by the advice of its committee, and proceeded to order that another representation should be made to the king, stating, "that the evil was arrived to its greatest magnitude; that the measures to be taken against it could not be too prompt; and to remind the king of the engagement he entered into at his coronation, carefully to suppress the preachers of heresy."

The king promised a second answer before the separation of the assembly; and it was conveyed to them on the 6th of November 1775, by the same archbishop of Toulouse. In this answer, he repeated his promise of inspecting attentively the licentiousness of the press; and assured the clergy, that the rumour which had prevailed, of the protection it was pretended he had bestowed on the protestants, was wholly destitute of foundation.

The clergy now circulated through the king-

dom the advertisement of M. de Pompignan, *On the Dangers of Infidelity*; and, a short time after, the king appointed a protestant to the head of the financial department. Such was the issue of the representations of the clergy; the principal object of which was the inquietude they felt at the elevation of a minister whom they believed to be an atheist, and who was suspected of acting in concert with the English, to subvert our morals, and introduce a revolution.

CHAP. II.

Administration of the Count St. Germain—Sketch of the romantic History of this Officer—He is a Jesuit, and Professor of Humanities in France—He serves in the Troops of Lewis XV., passes to the Service of the Elector Palatine, of Maria Theresa, of the Elector of Bavaria, and of Frederic II.—He escapes from Prussia, and enters into the Service of his Country—His Advancement—His Complaints—His Distresses—He displeases Lewis XV. and the Favourite—He conceives himself to be ill treated—Is popular among the Soldiers, whom he encourages to Familiarity—His Disputes with Marshal Broglio—He aspires to the Generalship—Treats secretly with the Court of Denmark to obtain Employment—Sends back the Cordon Rouge to the King, and emigrates—He is persecuted by the Court of France—Threatens to pass over to the Enemy—Remains eight Months in Misfortune and Destitution—The Court of France withdraws its Opposition to his Admission into Denmark—He is appointed Minister of War at Copenhagen—Is created Knight of the Order of the Elephant—Commands the Armies against the Czar Peter III.—Overturns the Danish Military Code—Is dismissed—Retires to France—Becomes a Bankrupt—Retires to Luterbourg—Is abandoned to Misery—Sends Plans of Reform to France, and again meets the Favour of Malesherbes and Turgot, who are reforming Ministers.

THE history of the count Saint Germain presents a series of vicissitudes, that savours of romance. Educated among the jesuits, having worn the habit of their order, and taught the humanities in one of their colleges, he at length

quitted them, and entered into a regiment of dragoons. Become a lieutenant, he killed an officer in a duel. The danger of being pursued, and punished, led him to enter into the service of the elector Palatine, where he was distinguished by prince Eugene, who gave him a company in his own regiment, and he went out, in 1738, against the Turks.

Maria Theresa, having declared war against France, he obtained permission of her not to fight against his country, and the elector of Bavaria gave him a colonelcy in his service, and appointed him his chamberlain, and master of horse.

As he had been known, under advantageous circumstances, to Frederic, during the war in 1744, he conceived, that Bavaria was too circumscribed a theatre for his genius: he demanded employment of Frederic, and obtained what he wished for; but, disgusted with the severity of the discipline of his troops, he disappeared from the Prussian territories, and attached himself to marshal Saxe, who commanded our armies in the Low Countries. This general permitted him to raise a regiment, and gave him, in 1746, the rank of brigadier-general. He distinguished himself in the battles of Raucoux and Laufeld, and at the siege of Maestricht. On the event of peace, he obtained the command

of Lower Alsace, and afterwards that of Hainault.

The count of St. Germain had rendered important services in these different expeditions. The battle of Rosbach was fought against his advice; and, when we were defeated and dispersed, he contributed to save the scattered wrecks of our army, and acquired the reputation of a brave officer.

St. Germain was a man infinitely tenacious of his opinions. In the seven-years-war, marshal Belleisle had destined him to be the adviser and counsellor of the prince of Condé, who showed a great ambition to distinguish himself, and was to command a detachment of the army on the Lower Rhine. He observed, however, to the minister, "that this measure would be perilous for the state; that in war, every thing depended on the moment; that a general could not conceive and execute with too much celerity; that councils and debates were impossible in the midst of pressing circumstances; that young princes commonly adopted the advice of their courtiers; and that, whatever unfavourable chances might happen, the blame would be imputed to him." The marshal replied, that the prince of Condé was desirous of improving himself, that he had no such favourite

as St. Germain had supposed, and assured him, that he would enjoy the perfect confidence of the prince; he promised him also, on his first brilliant success, if he accepted his offers, the dignity of marshal of France. St. Germain, who retained old prejudices as to the promises of ministers, persisted in his refusal. The king, then, in the hope of better success, loaded him with attentions; but the inflexible St. Germain replied, "Sire, I understand in war but two things, obedience and command, and I am wholly unequal to the task of giving advice." The king was offended, turned his back upon him, and from that moment disliked him.

The count very justly observed, that if the prince was too young to take the command, the troops ought not to be entrusted to him; that neither ought they to be confided to a mentor, whom the young general might, if he pleased, disobey; besides, that, in case of success, the whole merit would be ascribed to the pupil, at the expence of the person to whom it might truly belong.

In spite of the king's repugnance, the council determined to bestow on St. Germain the chief command of the detachment of the Lower Rhine; but he would only accept it on condition, that it should be made an independent army,

with a distinct staff; consenting, however, to concert measures with marshal Broglio for the execution of his projects.

As the count did not follow the examples of the other generals and the nobility, in paying court to madame de Pompadour at Versailles, she also took a dislike to him. The want of harmony, which, in the seven-years-war, was one of the causes of our misfortunes, gave rise also, at this period, to the perpetual intrigues which were employed against St. Germain. He obtained, however, the esteem of marshal Belle-isle, who, speaking of him to Lewis XV., observed: "These men of stubborn minds, strangers to the usages of the capital and the court, but familiar with and beloved by the soldiers, are of great value to the service: their character, at the same time, so opposite to that of our courtiers, is attended with very serious inconveniences; but these inconveniences, or at least the ill effects resulting from them, it belongs to your ministers either to remedy or prevent."

Madame de Pompadour having, at a time when the intrigues of this mistress penetrated even to the interior of our camps, succeeded in setting St. Germain at variance with the minister, he sent in his resignation. "I know not," said he, "what is my offence, but I feel that I am exposed naked to a nest of hornets. My

honour is attacked; I have nothing more to care for, and I joyfully leave a country in which neither innocence nor virtue, neither zeal nor services, are considered as of any worth. Madame de Pompadour is my enemy; and, no doubt, ministers are of her opinion in regard to me. My ruin has long been meditated; and, as it seems within the reach of my foes, I retire from the scene."

The cabinet, conscious of his value, now began to take into consideration the justice of his complaints; a circumstance which St. Germain turned to his advantage. Duverney, who had constantly gone between the court and the general, observed to him, that a great deal was due to a man's honour, but still more to his country; and "that country" said M. Duverney, who was well accustomed to the office he was now employed in, "bestows upon you, by the suffrages of the public, all that your merit demands. What other glory could be so suitable to a heart like yours? I claim of you then, in the name of all the virtues you profess, the continuance of your services to the king and the state. Under the present circumstances, when the whole army publicly avows its attachment to you, your retreat would be an example of the most dangerous tendency. I do not deny, that jealousy and envy may have exerted

themselves to injure you; but what man of superior merit has escaped the malevolence of these passions? Is there a country in which talents, virtue, and honour, are duly cherished and respected? Since the same evils then exist every where, it is surely better to suffer by the inflictions of one's country. Of yours you ought not to complain, since your wrongs are caused by the excess of her partiality to you. Do not then accuse her, but rather listen to her claims on your affection. You have more friends, both at court and in Paris, than are sufficient to counteract the mischievous designs of the jealous. If the war goes on, your political opponents will soon disappear, perhaps even sooner than you at present imagine. Do not yield, therefore, to the emotions which the comparisons and sarcasms of your enemies are calculated to excite."

St. Germain replied to his friend, that he would continue in the service, if the commander-in-chief of the French armies would make a public declaration, that the king was satisfied with his conduct. "Is it not painful to reflect," said he, "that every abigail, and every coxcomb, may work, like moles, under ground, to the destruction of the fairest plants. Can it be agreeable to me, to see a hundred letters written from Paris and the court, and sent to as many

individuals, importing, that could I achieve even miracles, the miracles should be made to operate to my destruction? For these ten years past," he wrote in 1758, "have we not beheld talents, virtue, and merit, a prey to vehement persecutions, and the preference due to them bestowed on garrulity and flatterers? I am sensible, that a citizen owes to his country both services and sacrifices. These duties I have fulfilled. I refused, eight years ago, the rank of marshal of France, and office of minister of war; and it is but two years since, that I was offered by a foreign power* the same honours, with the addition of a revenue of a hundred thousand livres. All this is well known to ministers, and to the king himself. I have superabundantly accomplished all the duties of a good citizen. After this, must I linger in obscurity? Must I be a victim to the persecutions of jealousy? Must indigence beset my old age, and must I die insolvent? No law, human or divine, compels me to endure such aggravated evils. Every man brings with him into the world a right to act in it the part he deems most creditable, and to attain all possible happiness. It is wished, I would servilely attach myself to the interests of M. de Soubise, and

* Denmark.

become entirely dependent upon him. I will wear no man's livery, and will depend only on the king and my duty. I am in my country, as if I did not belong to it, without hopes or advantages, and insulted by an implied insignificance."

Lewis XV. ordered, that endeavours should be used to soothe the irritated imagination of St. Germain. M. de Contades, therefore, declared to him publicly, on the part of the king, that his majesty was satisfied with his services and conduct; that he not only discredited, but disapproved of the disingenuous proceedings which had been employed against him. Madame de Pompadour also, by her creature, M. de Soubise, whom she supported, and had raised to the rank of general, notwithstanding the mediocrity of his talents and military acquisitions, wrote him a letter, that was rather satisfactory. He was promised recompences; but, knowing the court style, he did not, he said, depend on them.

Two years after these complaints, St. Germain negotiated with the court for some addition to his pecuniary allowance. On the 24th of January 1760, he complained of his persecutions, and of the uncertainty of his situation. "I have already," said he, "repeatedly represented my grievances; I have supplicated, I

have undergone all sorts of humiliations and indignities; and the most courteous answer I have obtained was, that I had received more of the king's money than any preceding lieutenant-general. In spite of this, however, I am destitute; yet the king, indeed, very kindly promised me a supply; and, without it, how should I have been able to extricate myself? In my situation, a great expence is incurred. For three years an open table, a new equipage every new campaign, and a mistress, have been articles of indispensable necessity. For some time, I have been reduced to the pay of a lieutenant-general; except that I derive something on the score of my regiment, which, together, make only 7500 livres; and that I have 3000 more from the order of the cross of St. Lewis. Is it possible, I demand of my country, is it possible to support my post on such terms as these? M. de Soubise required me to serve under his orders; and pretended, that he would, on all occasions, adopt my advice; but this I was perfectly convinced would not be the case. He then appointed five lieutenants-general, who were older officers than myself, having no other way so effectually to throw me at a distance from the council. At Gotha he gave me a detachment of 3000 unpromising soldiers, and I was on the point of perishing

with them. It was with the greatest difficulty that I rejoined the army, two or three days before the battle of Rosbach. I commanded the rear-guard on that unhappy day. I leave it to the army to pronounce what was my conduct. My advice had not once been asked, and I took care not to express my opinion, well-knowing that it would have been turned into ridicule. A whole volume would not contain the narrative of what I have sustained. By the order of the minister, I was sent to serve under M. de Clermont. Upon the arrival of M. de Mortagne, I was instantly and contumeliously rejected. Madame de Pompadour intimated to M. Clermont, that I was a man of bad principles, against whom he would do well to guard himself; and, during three months, he neither deigned to look at me, or speak to me. The enemy now passed the Rhine; on which occasion I was resorted to. Let the whole army declare, if I did not overlook all that had passed, and hasten to the assistance of M. Villemur? The battle of Crevelt succeeded, and the generals, my enemies, were heard to say, 'that it should be lost for the sake of exposing my life.' I had written to count de Bernis the winter before, and predicted all these misfortunes, together with the order in which they would happen. I can no longer serve the king, my

health will not admit of it." After writing thus, St. Germain set off for Paris, where he obtained the command of the army of the Lower Rhine, under the orders of marshal Broglio, the arrears due on his several appointments, an immediate augmentation of his pay, and the promise of a promotion.

M. St. Germain had commanded the army of the Lower Rhine four months, when he suddenly wrote to marshal Broglio, general-in-chief of the army, that being no longer able to support the severe, ironical, and contemptuous style of his letters, he demanded of the king to be recalled. The marshal replied, that he entertained for him very different sentiments from what he supposed; that he had mentioned him to the duke of Choiseul, to marshal Belleisle, to the prince of Soubise, and to madame Pompadour, as a general of great abilities. The marshal declared to him, at the same time, that he conceived he should be guilty of injustice towards the king, were he to contribute to his being deprived of such an officer, by giving him permission to quit the service.

"Every possible sacrifice," said M. Duverney, "is due to the voice of a sovereign, and of the whole nation. What motive can you assign, that can be sufficiently powerful to destroy

these prepossessions so compatible with your reputation and interest? You ought to remain, sir, because there is not an individual who would not blame you, if you were to do otherwise; because all the courts of Europe would stigmatise your resignation, at a moment of such critical importance. Has friendship any power to influence your decision? Give me a proof of it, by your acquiescence in the suggestions of those who claim a right to speak freely to you. I am sorry that I am not at liberty to commit the whole to paper."

M. St. Germain, who had already quitted his army, replied, that he must insist upon having his conduct investigated by the king, or tried by his peers. He made the bitterest complaints respecting the bulletin of the affair of the 10th of July, in which he had been spoken of in a manner very different from what he really merited; and, in consequence of which, he had withdrawn from the army, considering himself as compelled to do so. Upon this, marshal de Belleisle wrote to him in a conciliatory style; but St. Germain objected, that his letters were not public, and still insisted on a trial, though there existed no accusation or documents on which a trial could be grounded.

The court, surprised at this conduct, and sensible of the importance attached by St. Germain

to his services, was now perfectly at a loss what further measures to adopt. So far, however, did it carry its condescension, that M. de Cremille, coadjutor of marshal de Belleisle, in the war department, was deputed to try on him the weight of his influence. The 31st of July, 1760, was considered, at court, as the termination of our successes, and the resignation of St. Germain as the signal of the disgraces that ensued. His flight had been loudly condemned: but these events produced a different language, of which he was sensible, and he remained inflexible to the remonstrances of M. de Cremille. The court next desired, that he would at least postpone his resignation to the 15th of November; but he was inexorable; and his friend, the eloquent Duverney, represented to him in vain the dangers of his determination, and the impossibility of his finding any country in which mankind were not influenced by the same passions, to which he was now a martyr. "Wherever you take refuge," said he, "you must bear about you the marks of being a foreigner; and you will still be liable to the jealousy of the natives. The hostility you now escape from will follow you every where, and your enemies will use the circumstance of your emigration to confirm the suspicions that have been broached of your disaffection to the nation. Is there in

the whole universe a state, whose head is not obliged to see with the eyes, and hear with the ears of others? Notwithstanding the ingratitude of one's country, is it easy to extinguish in patriotic breasts the inborn sentiment of affection? It is so common to see disappointment result from attempts to obtain happiness, by going into foreign countries, that your resolution occasions me serious uneasiness. If you will but recollect the different events of your life, you will not require the example of others to point out the truth of my observations. Give the subject due reflexion; and, to the pain of separation, do not add that of my beholding you a prey to future repentance."

St. Germain acknowledged the wisdom and propriety of these observations. "If I was rich," said he, "I would adopt your sentiments; but destitute as I am of fortune, I can continue in the service only on certain conditions. I should feel the greatest repugnance to the enjoying the favours of the king, without being of use to him; and, on the other hand, were I to continue to serve him, my want of fortune makes it necessary I should be paid for it; in which respect, I should again be disappointed. M. d'Argenson had allotted me an appointment before the war, but I remained three years without receiving it. When I remonstrated on the subject,

I was answered by jests and insults. The promises made me under the administration of M. d'Argenson have been withdrawn. This could not but be expected after my resignation. It is evident, that I can no longer serve under M. de Broglio. Fortunately, my honour has to the present moment escaped injury: I have saved it from the general wreck: it is all I have left, and I will not suffer it to be exposed. Strangers are commonly well received, and make their fortune in foreign countries. As to the calumnies which are circulated about me, I am accustomed to them, and they no longer cause me any surprise, nor shall I make a single effort to counteract them. Was it not affirmed, in a newspaper printed in Holland, that I was dismissed from the army for having betrayed to the enemy the *corps de reserve*. To-morrow, it will be said, that I have killed my wife. What have I to do, but quit a country where such calumnies are overlooked and practised with impunity? I have withheld any further justification of myself, and have been applauded for it; but my silence has been the cause of my ruin. I do not fly from France, but am expatriated by France, with every mark of disesteem."

"You can form but an imperfect notion," said M. Duverney, "of our solicitude relative to your situation. You will, perhaps, at some

future time, learn what efforts we have made to render it such as we wish it to be. At present, we are firmly persuaded, that nothing can be so advantageous for you as your adopting the proceeding I am going to propose: if you reject it, you will run the risk of totally ruining yourself.

"It is to draw up a memorial, addressed to the king, conjuring him to judge you himself. But, previous to its being presented, we would wish to be consulted as to its contents, as we must necessarily understand certain situations and circumstances better than yourself. Your memorial should be simple, clear, concise, and entirely free from personalities. You should cite the battle of Crevelt, and represent, that, abandoned on all sides, you sustained alone the attack of the enemy, though your name was barely mentioned in the official accounts of that event. You should speak also of the battle of Rosbach, in which so great a share of success was due to you; and of the circumstances of your retreat on the 20th of July 1760. In short, you should be careful to let the king see, that a great part of the troops was under your command."

St. Germain, already in treaty with Denmark, rejected the measures proposed to him by Duverney. "The determination I have

formed," said he, "will no longer allow of my employing the means you recommend. It is probable, besides, that a memorial from me would never reach the hands of his majesty; but should even the contrary happen, however cautious and moderate might be the language I should use, the ruin of many eminent persons must inevitably follow, whose injuries to me I freely forgive."

St. Germain had the promise, from Denmark, of a salary amounting to fifty thousand crowns, part of which was revertible to his wife, with the rank of field-marshal, chief of the council of war, and commandant-general of the armies.

"I am well aware," added St. Germain, to Duverney, "that it is in contemplation to seize my person, whether dead or alive, to pursue me through every court in Europe, and to prevent my obtaining either an asylum or employment. What will be the consequence of all this? That I shall be compelled to excesses that I wish to avoid. Who can controul the course of despair? As I am determined never to return to France, I have only to request a complete dismissal, that so I may be at perfect liberty. It is my intention to resort to a court that is neutral, but so friendly to France, and so distantly situated, that I shall never be called upon to take the field against my country. I

make no complaints; I attack no one; I seek only for safety and tranquillity. Should my present views be wrested from me, I must search for others, and shall no doubt succeed; but having no longer the privilege of selection, I shall be obliged to embrace those which shall first present themselves, which may be painful to my heart, and perhaps injurious to the interests of the king. The injustice and hardships I have endured restore to me my right over my own destiny. It was my duty to serve the king with fidelity; but no consideration whatever obliges me to be unhappy all my life. I have sent in my resignation to marshal Belleisle, and demanded an absolute dismissal, but have received no sort of answer. Is it their intention to force me to means of desperation? In that case, their conduct will be much more discreditable than mine, because necessity always stands excused. You must be sensible, that it is impossible for me to recede. You know that I inherit no fortune, and all the world is aware that I have not acquired any. I am obliged to make a prompt decision, and I earnestly pray that I may have the gratification of making such a one, as may not tear from my heart the sentiment I feel towards my king and my country. All the persons who surround the king are either my declared or secret enemies,

as well as those who surround the dauphin. Every general of the army has been excited to persecute me. When I demanded the reason of this, I was answered by insult. I am charged with no crime, but that of possessing the affection of the military, and the impartial voice of the public. The apprehension, that circumstances may procure me the command of the armies, has created alarm among those who have formed similar pretensions; and who is he that is without them? In short, I fly from the scene of such accumulated wrongs, and should feel the deepest concern to be forced to present to the public a memorial of my justification. But I complain of no person; and, in regard to every thing that has passed, I shall observe the most scrupulous silence. I shall never forget that I have the honour to be a Frenchman."

M. de Cremille and M. Duverney, ignorant of his secret treaty concluded with Denmark, were astonished beyond measure at the conduct of St. Germain, and were of opinion, with marshal Broglio and other of his friends, that he must be under the influence of a deranged state of intellect, which they feared, from the symptoms, might prove incurable. But they did not perceive the hidden springs of his conduct. St. Germain was in possession of the

confidence of the troops, and secretly wished to command them; but he was not known at court, where custom required that commands should be obtained: and from the shock of interests between the prosperous courtiers raised to the rank of general by madame de Pompadour, and the meritorious officer, who resolved to owe every thing to his character, and nothing to the claims of birth or favour, resulted the discontent of M. St. Germain, who was in negotiation with a foreign power, anxious to gain for itself that degree of military consideration, which would result from the numbering in its forces an officer of such acknowledged bravery.

But nothing could exceed the resentment of madame de Pompadour, the king, and marshal Belleisle, when it was confirmed, that in so critical a conjuncture, when France was loaded with calamities, St. Germain was actually determined to quit her service, and enter into that of a foreign power. They could see in his conduct, neither the sentiment of patriotism, nor the Gallican loyalty of which he had so much boasted. He did not indeed pass from our own forces to those of the enemy in the way of a deserter; but he quitted a French army, involved in a perpetual series of disasters by the activity and genius of Frederic, to engage in a foreign service; sending back to the king himself his *cordon rouge*,

which had been obtained by him on the score of service, and not of birth, and depriving us of an essential benefit, the presence of a general who possessed the confidence of the troops. The court of Versailles wrote to the court of Copenhagen, requiring its rejection of the fugitive general; and every exertion was made for the purpose of reducing him to the necessity of resuming his post in France. From this moment St. Germain, hitherto so inflexible, had recourse to negotiations and sinister expedients. He offered bribes to madame de Pompadour's women, and even did not hesitate to solicit Duverney's assistance in these proceedings. In order to put an end to the opposition of France to Copenhagen, he cited, in his letters to his friend, the *atrocity* of compelling him to serve against his country. It was certainly more *atrocious* than he conceived. He observed, that for four years he had been persecuted with every possible degree of violence, and that attempts had even been made to secure his person by force. He threatened to publish against his enemies, the first characters in the state, the most poignant remonstrances. He said he had agreed with Lewis XV. to leave Bavaria, for the purpose of entering into the French service. But they do not wish to keep me," said he, " since they treat me like

a beast, they do not wish me to return, since they have taken no steps to that end. They do not so much as explain their meaning. Their object is to rob me of every decent resource. They wish to render me less happy than the stones we tread on. They wish to force me to go over to the enemy, that I may thus have the air of a criminal. I must indeed be driven to this, if the court refuses to withdraw the opposition with which, for eight months, they have traversed me at the court of Denmark. I will not perish in the situation into which I have been forced: I will justify my conduct, and Europe shall attest my unhappy fate with her tears."

At length all obstacles were removed, and France considered M. St. Germain as a sort of madman, who ought to be left to himself; but she was deficient here in the refined policy employed by England and other powers towards herself. Why was it not contrived still farther to increase the furious discontent of this man, and reduce him to such a state of misery as might compel him to take refuge in the court of an enemy; to whom a more fatal present could not be offered than St. Germain, rendered by his persecutions sufficiently interesting to excite enthusiasm, and obtain the post of minister. But to bestow St. Germain on Denmark was doing an injury

to a court who was not an enemy, and whose power it was our interest to support in every degree of which it could be susceptible. France at this moment was unprovided with men who knew how to calculate the precise consequences that would result from any proceeding; and M. de Belleisle, on receiving St. Germain's *cordon rouge*, contented himself with saying, that there was the greatest indecorum in returning a decoration of this kind, designed to distinguish merit; that it resembled the case of a footman, who restores his suit of livery on quitting the service of his master.

Released from his engagements and former condition, St. Germain reached Copenhagen. Frederic V. had prevailed on France to withdraw its opposition to the favours he resolved to bestow upon him. This prince was now in dispute with the emperor, Peter III., on the subject of the sovereignty of Holstein; and, as his troops were untrained, and unaccustomed to war, it was expected at Copenhagen, that military discipline would be established by the count St. Germain, in an army that was to take the field against Russian troops, who had been disciplined and improved by those of Frederic II. king of Prussia. St. Germain was appointed prime-minister, and regarded as a tutelary divinity. At once minister and general, he put

himself at the head of the troops formed by himself, and marched against those of the czar, Peter III.

In 1762, Peter III. was dethroned by Catharine, who succeeded him, and who, making war with the friends of her husband, and peace with his enemies, withdrew the troops. St. Germain was recompensed for the formation of his army by the ribbon of the order of the elephant. But his impetuous and restless character, so adverse to all establishments, and his inextinguishable rancour against the nobility of France, stimulated him to a dislike of the constitutive state of the Danish military, whose cavalry he ruined. St. Germain was to tactics, what democrats and innovators are to politics. In trying to introduce perfection, he caused injury. He wished to see Denmark possessed of an army, and to render her a military nation, comparable with Prussia, that, as it were, had been called into existence from nothing, by the creation and judicious proceedings of a powerful army. He was not aware, that in its European and relative situation, if not perpetually renovated by military influence, Prussia was subject to a speedy degeneracy. In Denmark, on the contrary, from her maritime situation, an army would not only be useless, but, if a conquering one, contrary to the real interests of the country.

Frederic V. died in 1766, and St. Germain's credit diminished. He obtained leave to retire in 1768, with a pension of 7000 crowns. A revolution now took place in the court of Denmark. The mother and the wife of the new king were rivals for the reins of government. The young king, who was not returned from an expedition to the south of Europe, had brought with him a disorder, which he communicated to the queen. The latter was cured by a physician of the name of Struensee; but who prescribed to the king such strong doses of opium, as added other complaints to the original one. The queen and Struensee took the government into their own hands, and recalled the count St. Germain, who paid the most assiduous attentions to the young Matilda and the physician minister; at which the court was offended, St. Germain being the only knight of the order of the elephant who did them homage.

It is already well known, that, on the 17th of January 1772, the queen-dowager, Julia Maria, in order effectually to destroy the authority of her daughter-in-law, put herself at the head of her party, entered the chamber of the king, and forced him to sign an order for imprisoning Caroline Matilda of England, his wife, Struensee, and others. The sanguinary scenes which followed, and which occasioned the divorce of

Caroline Matilda, and established the government of the queen-mother in Denmark, till it was restored by another revolution to the prince royal, son of Christian VII. and Caroline Matilda, are also notorious. St. Germain, who was a stranger to court intrigues, and to the singular events which had caused so much bloodshed in that of Copenhagen, resigned, after having placed in a bank at Hamburgh the sum of 100,000 crowns. He went afterwards to Lutterbach, where he purchased a house, and supported with great philosophy the loss of this sum, occasioned by the failure of the banker in whose hands he had placed it, and which reduced him to the extreme of misery.

As soon as the imperial regiments of the French army were informed of this misfortune, they joined together, and raised for him a pension of 16,000 livres. The French court was displeased at a generosity, of which they thought the object unworthy, and M. de Muy, his predecessor, forbad its being paid. But the colonels of those regiments, with a generous and unexampled intrepidity, braved the resentment of the court in favour of misfortune, and a general clamour compelled the count de Muy to assist St. Germain with a pension of 10,000 livres. The minister observed, in bestowing it, that

it was an act of too much generosity for a deserter, who had abandoned France at a critical moment: but there were officers in the army of a more liberal temper, who not only replied, that it was wrong to show resentment to the unfortunate, but sent St. Germain relief, without acquainting him from whom it came. This was his situation when Lewis XVI. called him to the administration of France, in 1775.

CHAP. III.

Ministry and Operations of the Count St. Germain—He goes to Fontainebleau, and presents himself to the King—Receives from him a Present of 100,000 Crowns, and the Cordon rouge, which he had resigned on his former Emigration—His first Proceedings of Reform excite the Animosity of the Court and the Army—He acquires new Enemies, who unite with those he left in France at the Time of his Emigration.

THE marshal de Muy, minister of war, died just at this conjuncture, and a great number of general officers solicited his post. Madame B..... suggested to the minister Turgot, with whom she was in habits of friendship, that St. Germain was the man best qualified to execute the plans of reform which the late minister of finance had in view; and the illuminati of Germany, who, from the time of his having overturned every thing in that country, had protected him, secretly favoured his nomination, by the intrigues of baron Blecken, at Paris.

M. de Malesherbes joined in soliciting M. de Maurepas, that he would propose to the king, that St. Germain should succeed to M. de Muy; and the abbé Dubois, brother to Dubois, formerly aide-de-camp to St. Germain, and afterwards

commandant of the police-guard at Paris, was sent to Luterbach, charged with the orders to offer him, on the part of Lewis XVI., the post of minister of war.

M. St. Germain during his whole life had been agitated by constant vicissitudes of fortune. He had been raised to honourable and lucrative posts even at an early age, and had also experienced situations of extreme indigence and desertion. The good auspices of the soldier of fortune had struggled incessantly against the favour annexed to birth. Often raised on high by his genius, and often sunk as low by the jealousy of favourites and courtiers, his life had been one continual train of suffering and success. "The court of France then has not forgotten me?" said St. Germain to the abbé Dubois. After a short conversation, he returns to his lodging, equips himself in the requisite manner, and sets out. He saw the great maxim of his life ready to be carried into action, that of raising himself to the utmost round of his destiny.

On the day of St. Germain's arrival at Fontainebleau, he presented himself to the king, who addressed him by the title of *marshal*, which he still held in the court of Denmark. To this attention the prince added that of restoring him the *cordon rouge*, which had been

returned by St. Germain to Lewis XV., in a moment of irritation when he left France, and which he now added to his decoration of the order of the elephant. St. Germain was fond of money, and Lewis XVI. presented him with 100,000 crowns for furniture, and allotted him apartments at the arsenal. It was a lofty and gratifying triumph for a general, who had been a deserter and a malcontent, to find himself victorious over enemies, who were still alive, and enjoying at court the consideration arising from their name and birth. MM. de Maurepas, Malesherbes, and Turgot, opposed this soldier of fortune to the courtiers, whose tone, credit, and power, they were determined to diminish. St. Germain had overturned the military code in Denmark, which, in the conception of these ministers, was a work of no small merit, as it promised a capacity for weakening the same power in France, which at present was a source of inquietude to philosophy and to the magistracy.

The first objects of the disapprobation and reform of St. Germain were the veteran troops of the French army, and the body-guards. In December 1775, he reduced the two companies of black and grey musqueteers, and would also have entirely abolished the life-guards, and the light horse-guards, had not

the chiefs of these corps, the prince de Soubise, who was still in the administration, and Maurepas, who was related to the duke of Aiguillon, obtained the preservation of fifty men from them.

These regulations, which surprised M. de Maurepas and the king, were of no utility to the finances, as the consequent pensions, and reimbursement of expences, would draw as much from the state as the whole amount of the pay of these corps, the officers of which entered as volunteers, and were to receive for their services scarcely any pecuniary recompense. But the aim of Malesherbes and Turgot was, to change the constitution of the state, and this metamorphosis could only be effected by changing that of the military. It was necessary to new-model the whole establishment of the guards, to modify it entirely, and give it the character of the royal guard in a mixed monarchy. The 12,000 men who constituted the guards in France, specially attached to the person of the sovereign, and to support the splendor and dignity of the court, were the principal obstacle to their schemes of innovation. The pride of the military character, however, roused itself, and M. de Maurepas was intimidated. To appease this rising spirit, he obliged St. Germain to receive a colleague, a sort of spy upon his proceedings, with whom he was to share the responsibility of his situation. M.

de Montbarrey was appointed to this office; and Maurepas, to keep in check the adventurous spirit of St. Germain, nick-named the new placeman, *the hereditary prince*, desirous by this pleasantry to impress him with a sense of his dependence, and the facility with which he might be dismissed.

The privileged military bodies were uniformly the objects of St. Germain's innovating speculations. The life-guards and the carabineers were under contemplation; but the marquisses of Castries and Poyanne, who commanded these corps, exclaimed loudly on the occasion, kept their regiments entire, and, confederating with the other officers of family at court, they resolved to effect the ruin of so daring a reformer. There were at Versailles two parties in motion against him, that of the nobility and that of the philosophers; the former, because he was raised through a spirit of adventure to his present conspicuous situation, and the latter, because he was religious, and had been a jesuit.

In the month of March, 1776, M. St. Germain directed his exertions against the existing establishment of the military school: he named a commission, composed of MM. Taboureau, Forqueux, and Lenoir, to examine the administration of the Hôtel, at a moment when its esta-

blishment had just been brought to perfection by M. Dupont, who demonstrated, that the yearly expences to the state of each pupil was no more than 1200 livres, instead of 4000, as had been stated by the economists. St. Germain dispersed the school among the provinces, instead of continuing it at Paris, and confided the education of the pupils of distinction to departments conducted by minims, fathers of the oratory, and benedictins, to whom the king paid a pension for each individual. St. Germain's enemies severely ridiculed a change, which thus subjected the spirit of the military schools of France to men of mere religion, and the exclamations and sarcasms of the philosophers were repeated and violent.

A spirit of incongruity characterised the greatest part of St. Germain's reforms. He diminished the number of superior officers in the troops, and at the same time created lieutenant-colonels, by which he was sure to lessen the consideration of the superior command.

St. Germain's regulations of the military discipline excited a general cry against him. A Vandal could not have imagined any thing more shocking to French manners than the subjecting a soldier to be beaten with a stick; and a general insurrection was opposed to this insult offered to the sensibility and character of the

French. The punishment was altered to that of being beaten with a sabre*.

Proceeding still farther in his regulations of the military administration, St. Germain abolished all its markets, under the idea of their being conducted by fraudulent persons; and, as if those substituted by himself had greater probity than those appointed by M. de Muy, he overturned the system of administration; the consequence of which was, that his own administration proved more expensive and unorganised than any preceding one.

M. St. Germain next conceived the project of giving pensions to the invalids, and of converting the foundations of Lewis XIV. into thirty-six establishments, to be dispersed among the provinces; but this injudicious project was destroyed in its birth, upon which he abandoned his first plan, and sent the invalids into the provinces, with pensions. "We have no longer a father!" exclaimed the veterans, as they passed in waggons

* A soldier of the regiment of the viscount de Laval having incurred disgrace, declared himself a gentleman, and pleaded, that, as such, he ought not to receive the punishment proposed: M. Laval, without attending to his remonstrance, gave orders for proceeding to its infliction; but as it was established, that a gentleman could not be compelled to serve as a private, the gentleman soldier, after receiving the blows, retired from the service, sent the colonel a challenge, wounded him, and was wounded himself.

before the statue of Lewis XIV., who had founded their institution. These scenes disgusted the Parisians with the minister, and multiplied his enemies; and even his secretaries, who should have been most attached to him, were principally occupied in traversing the execution of his edicts, his ordinances, and his declarations.

The provincial military schools which he had substituted for that of Paris did not answer the proposed end, and he re-established at Paris that which had been abolished, and permitted all Frenchmen to place their children in it as pensioners. He thus turned the king into the master of a boarding-school, at the rate of 3000 livres a-head for the first year, and 2000 for all the following; while, under his predecessor, each pupil had stood the king in no more than 1200 livres. M. St. Germain, therefore, procured for the crown, a profit trivial, ignoble, and sordid.

The reforms of the count St. Germain at length fatigued Lewis XVI. and M. de Maurepas, to such a degree, that it was resolved at Versailles to get rid of a minister so ill suited to the scene in which he acted; and all that remained was to find an easy and graceful occasion of discarding him from the court for ever.

CHAP. IV.

Reflexions on the Character of the Reforms introduced by M. St. Germain into the War Department, and the Effects they produced.—Injury which resulted from them to the Spirit of the Monarchy, and the Military Character of the French Nation.

IT is apparent, that, from the accession of Lewis XVI. to the throne, the mania of reform had invariably attended every respective administration, and especially that of the count St. Germain, whose visionary speculations had led to the entire abolition of the grey musqueteers, the black musqueteers, and the horse-grenadiers; and to the reduction of the company of life-guards, and of the king's light-horse guards. The prejudice occasioned by these operations to the established order of military government may be easily conceived.

It was not in fact without views of considerable foresight and precaution that Lewis XIV. instituted the *troupes d'élite*, "select troops," for the double purpose of pomp and the protection of his person; nor was it without judicious reasons that he made them a distinct and separate corps from the rest of his troops. He wished to

destroy the uniformity and equality that had hitherto existed in the armies, to separate from the mass of the troops those which were selected to be near his person, and on which he accordingly bestowed the same power in relation to the state, as was enjoyed by the hierarchical institutions, together with considerable prerogatives. It was these prerogatives that appeared to St. Germain so particularly reprehensible. The nobility were no longer, according to an old adage, called upon to serve, *in virtue of their rank*, in the interior of the king's guards: a military guard, composed of 12,000 men, now enjoyed this privilege exclusively.

From the time that Lewis XIV. had thus made a distinct corps of those troops, it seemed to acquire a peculiar character, and on all occasions, and at the most critical periods of battle, evinced a bravery that rendered victory decisive *.

The colours of the light-horse, established by Henry IV., announced the particular character of

* The function of guarding the king's person was in France regarded as so elevated and eligible a situation, that, in the company of the Scotch guards, the sons of the king of Scotland considered it an honour to obtain the rank of captain in this company. Charles I., since king of England, and Henry, his elder brother, had both filled this post. The former of these was succeeded in it by the duke of York, afterwards James II. of England, dethroned.

those troops. Their motto was, *sensere gigantes*, in allusion to the fable of the giants, who were overpowered by Jupiter and his adherents when they attempted to scale the heavens.

With respect to the two companies of musqueteers, they were composed of young men of birth or fortune. Lewis XIII., who had instituted them, was captain of the two companies.

The annihilation of these corps was therefore a direct wound to the hierarchy of the French monarchy; it operated to equalise the troops, which had previously been graduated by successive ranks, and to abolish those steps of distinction which had hitherto served to divide the several regiments which composed the entire system of the royal guard. These beautiful corps, formed of the finest men that could be met with, were, so to express myself, the very jewels of the crown. The uncommon excellence of their horses, the splendor and costliness of their uniform, seemed to announce to every beholder, that they were the most precious guard of the first sovereign in Europe.

St. Germain's aversion to privileges, and his consequent attachment to uniformity, all that he had suffered as a soldier of fortune from the contumely of the nobility, the incessant struggle between his personal merits and the con-

sideration assumed by the court, concurred to form his resolutions in regard to the suppressions we have mentioned. Nothing could induce him to save privileged troops, established for the purposes of pageantry and the protection of the king's person; neither the celebrity of their acts of bravery, nor the military annals of the respective companies, could arrest the march of his discontented and destroying mind. To succeed the better in these operations, he attached himself to Turgot and Malesherbes, who were at the head of the philosophers and economists, and still more irritated than himself at the pretensions of the select troops. It was not possible to attribute this subverting spirit of theirs to economy, it being proved, that, instead of causing an extraordinary expence, each of the reformed privates had cost the state but forty sols a-day, provision, horse, and regimentals included. They were less expensive than the regiments of cavalry; but it was a chosen troop consisting of twelve thousand privileged men, established for the particular defence of the throne; and this was insupportable to the innovators. Every minister of a similar character had found something of which he thought it was right to deprive the throne; and history obliges us to remark, that Turgot was the first who abolished a portion of

the king's guards, that Condorcet, his friend, contributed to the suppression of the Swiss guards, and, definitively, of every kind of body-guard, a little before the 10th of August, a period which found the king destitute of almost every protection: of so serious importance were those guards considered, by those who had formed the resolution to strip the crown of its prerogatives, in order afterwards to destroy it. —St. Germain died at the arsenal, abandoned by the whole world; and Condorcet, not being able to find an asylum throughout France, committed suicide.

The operations, or rather the devastations of St. Germain, comprised another dangerous property; they not only disturbed the mechanism of the state, but were particularly injurious to the national character. St. Germain, among the German and Danish troops, had dispossessed himself of the sensibility peculiar to the French, and was become an alien to our national military spirit. Among the northern powers, *fear* is one of the calculations of military legislation; the soldier receives corporal punishment, submits, and resumes his duty. In France, on the contrary, honour, esteem, and the love of glory, are the principal motives of the achievements of our troops. Bonaparte, who is so well aware of the power of these stimulants, and with so

much address applies them, has experienced that this species of moral tactics is capable of elevating soldiers to the highest degree of glory and heroism. St. Germain, on the other hand, repeated incessantly, that our troops were not soldiers, that they were neither disciplined nor in subjection, and was the first in France who conceived that blows from a stick would procure us soldiers. The brutality of his institutions, which produced discouragement instead of success, excited a considerable emigration of the officers, and rendered the legislation and the administration of the army much worse, instead of improving them, as he had pretended. These encroachments were also the means of establishing in the different regiments that discontent, which has been so notorious, which drew the soldiery and the revolutionists of 1789 nearer together, diminishing the attachment of the former to their officers, and confirming the spirit of competition and independence which was growing in the bosom of the army.

CHAP. V.

Portrait of St. Germain.

THE count St. Germain should certainly be considered in history as a singular and extraordinary man, in whom vicissitudes had produced the effect of an exalted imagination. He contemplated no object in nature with customary moderation; observation was no longer the predominating feature of his mind. All was sentiment, all was pain or pleasure. Was this favourable to his situation in the administration? His pleasures and his pains were different from those of other men. What at court was considered as a subject of rejoicing was felt by him as an object of bitter regret; and, on the contrary, he rejoiced at events to which the court attached ideas of infelicity. Such was the result of elevating a man of his character and condition to the post of minister. He shared with Turgot and Malesherbes the inconveniences arising from their joint system of reform. He was acrimonious towards the nobles and great men of the state, in his famous struggle with marshal Broglio; in the same manner

as Turgot and Malesherbes were exasperated against Maupeou and the court. St. Germain employed in the state a power superior to that of birth and of the parties who had offended him, and used the credit, youth, and inexperience of the monarch to promote the purposes of his secret passions and revenge. The nobility had combated his growing reputation, and St. Germain now combated the privileged military institutions. The pride of birth had wished to trample on the pretensions of a mere soldier of fortune; and the soldier of fortune, now at the pinnacle of success, recollected the affronts, privations, and dangers he had endured. Lewis XIV. most assuredly would not have placed this general at the head of his military administration.

The count St. Germain had never been commander in chief of the French troops; but his conduct as second commander had always been distinguished. In action he was dispassionate, collected, wary, calm, and always fortunate. His boldness and activity announced that he was an able general. He penetrated the designs of the enemy; he judged by a single glance how far the form of a spot of ground was favourable to the success of his plans. He had the optics of an eagle, and he always soared. He conceived, and executed with the

least possible interval. If, in the seven-years-war, our troops were not cut to pieces through the skill and bravery of Frederic II., it was the subaltern operations of St. Germain to which France was indebted for this advantage. The nobility were raised by favour to the command of armies, which they conducted to slaughter, while the soldier of fortune was employed in rescuing the scattered wrecks, or in distinguishing himself by actions, that were not by his employers intended for notice, and which they had seemed to allot to him as a favour. Hence arose the secret and just ambition of St. Germain, to command troops who were thus by degrees perishing before his eyes. Hence the vanity of madame de Pompadour, who obtained for a courtier the command of the armies, and with unjustifiable licence called St. Germain a knave. Hence the disaffection to his country, which prompted St. Germain to capitulate with Denmark; to adopt the sudden resolution of abandoning his troops and flying from France; to believe that he was dismissed from the army, and to affirm it to the public; to menace Lewis XV. with his intentions to serve an enemy, if he were not permitted to engage with Denmark, and to accuse the prince of refusing his consent to his serving in Den-

mark for the purpose of driving him to desertion and obliging him to contract with an enemy.

Arrived at Copenhagen, he developes his restless and innovating character, by overthrowing the Danish military state. All that had tended to provoke and irritate his temper in France now recurred in Denmark; he destroys, subverts, or disgraces every thing that opposes his plans. Neither adversity nor prosperity had in France been able to tranquillise his mind; and his acts, instead of developing a character of administration, exhibited the perpetual destruction of what wisdom and experience had established.

When St. Germain first presented himself to Lewis XVI., that prince gave proofs both of the probity and clear-sightedness of his character; and it would have been fortunate for France had his wariness been sufficiently impressive and extended to a suspicion of the dangers of St. Germain's political systems. But Lewis, in appointing him to the administration, desired him to forget all that had passed under the late king, and to consider marshal Broglio as a general esteemed for his military talents, and who would be called to the command of the troops in case of war. History is still at a loss to determine, whether

censure is most due to a minister, who disregards and despises the spirit of the instructions he receives as a rule for his conduct, or to the monarch who permits its total perversion. Lewis XVI., when he called St. Germain into office, expected to find him so inaccessible to resentment, that the state would be able to employ the very generals that M. St. Germain had menaced with disgrace; and this minister carried so far the oblivion of his duties, and neglect of the orders of his king, as to play the very part which had before been played by his enemies, and to adopt every measure which he knew would fill them with anger and desperation.

"M. St. Germain," said a man of intelligence, to whom we are indebted for the documents relative to his campaigns, but who wishes to remain unknown, "was of a temper which it is hardly possible to describe. His character was composed of a thousand good qualities, and of the opposite defects. He had both strength and weakness of mind; he was tranquil and turbulent; mistrustful and confiding; patriotic and interested; sensible of kindness and ungrateful; sarcastic and gentle; of nice sensibility and uncommon sternness; equitable and unjust; frank and deceitful: in every superior and every equal he imagined he beheld an

enemy leagued against him. In many respects there was a great similitude between him and Jean Jacques Rousseau." Between the 12th of December, 1775, and the 18th of October, 1777, he obtained no less than fifty-four ordinances, edicts, and declarations, signed by the king, and which bore the stamp of the absolute nullity of Lewis XVI., and the suspicious, crooked, and variable temper of the count.

To finish the portrait of this minister, from a hint furnished by his private character, it will be sufficient to say, that, having bought an estate near Raincy, he immediately proceeded, in his characteristic style, to cut down the trees, lay waste the gardens, and demolish the mansion. The buildings he pulled down have been valued at a hundred thousand crowns, and what remained to him at last were the materials and ground-plot of the estate. In this genuine anecdote, we see the counterpart of the reforms he had projected for the kingdom of France.

CHAP. VI.

Of MM. Turgot and Maurepas.—Maurepas plots the Destruction of his new Colleague.—Anecdote relative to the Pension of the Chevalier Luxembourg, a Captain of Guards to Lewis XVI.—Of MM. Turgot and Malesherbes.

M. TURGOT was of a character neither flexible nor versatile; he knew neither how to win by insinuation, nor to accommodate by concession. M. de Maurepas, perceiving the impracticableness of his nature, became extremely jealous of the empire which Turgot had acquired over the mind of the king, by talking to him incessantly "of equity, of the severity of the times, and the sufferings of the people." M. Maurepas feared, with considerable reason, that Lewis XVI., naturally beneficent, and whose aversion for the dissipated manners of his courtier nobility was not unknown to him, would escape from his influence, and throw himself into the arms of jansenism, religious or philosophical, so analogous to his character. The king, once governed by M. Turgot, would, in Maurepas' opinion, lend his assistance to a

revolution of manners and political measures, the severity of which would be ill suited to the habits and character of the nation in which he reigned. The downfal of M. Turgot was accordingly resolved upon.

In the month of December, 1775, it was in contemplation at court to effect a marriage between the chevalier Luxembourg, captain of the king's guards, in survivorship to the prince of Tingry, and madame de Mazarin, who had a large fortune.

The chevalier, on his side, possessed only an illustrious birth, a fine face, good morals, and a tolerable understanding; but he enjoyed the protection of the queen, who warmly interested herself in his advancement, and which was equivalent to the advantage of fortune. In fact, Maria Antoinetta was resolved to try, by indirect means, if she could prevail on Turgot to obtain for him a pension of forty thousand livres, which the princess of Tingry undertook to solicit of the minister, of whom she demanded an interview.

M. Turgot, occupied with his reforms, and especially with a plan of diminishing, instead of augmenting the charges of the court, was greatly surprised at the zeal of madame de Tingry, and sent for answer, that he could not conceive what a lady of the court could have to propose

to a minister of finance; and added, that his time was so entirely devoted to public affairs, that he could not grant to the princess the interview she wished.

This refusal only served to increase the zeal of madame de Tingry, who renewed her solicitations, and obtained the interview. In this *tête-à-tête* she expatiated on the merit, the personal accomplishments, and understanding of Luxembourg, and solicited for him the forty thousand crowns. She requested, that the pension might be drawn from the states of Languedoc, because the treasurer of that province was particularly punctual in his payments, while the royal treasury not unfrequently left state-pensions in arrears. "You demand of me, madam," replied Turgot, "a pension of forty thousand livres for M. de Luxembourg! You surely must know, that it would be incompatible with my principles not to refuse you. If I were minister of war, you might represent to me the claims of M. de Luxembourg, and might urge the propriety of granting him, in virtue of his military situation, some assistance from the state; but, in the post which I occupy, instead of compliance, I honestly declare to you, that, on the contrary, it is incumbent on me to use all my influence and credit to prevent the success of your solici-

tations."—Luxembourg's mistress, piqued by so positive and unvarnished a refusal, resolved to be revenged, and to obtain the pension.

If M. Turgot was impetuous, inflexible, and haughty in his determinations and refusals, when the object traversed his plans of reform, M. de Malesherbes, on the contrary, was indulgent, and of a mild and tolerant character. To him therefore madame de Tingry applied, and obtained what she wanted. Malesherbes avoided an immediate interview with Turgot, seized a favourable moment with the king, and the pension was granted. M. Turgot, who learned what had passed from the public, flew to M. Malesherbes, and reprimanded him. He expressed also to M. de Maurepas the most furious disapprobation of the transaction, and talked of the impending bankruptcy of the state.

M. de Maurepas, perceiving that the enemies of M. Turgot were every day increasing, became more resolved in his intentions to effect his downfal. The triumph of the chevalier Luxembourg was announced, in the month of January 1776, in foreign newspapers. M. Turgot, on his part, remained still indefatigable in his object of diminishing the expences of the court; while the king's two brothers, to show

their attachment to the reforming party, suppressed their public days. At this juncture both the reforming party and the party reformed were in a state of unnatural constraint, from which something decisive might soon be expected.

CHAP. VII.

Account of Turgot's celebrated popular Edicts—Six Bodies of Shop-keepers are clamorous and abusive to him—Assembly of the Chambers of Parliament against the Edicts—Remonstrances—Bed of Justice—Prosecution of the Economist Writers.

THE affair of Luxembourg's pension, the plans of reform, in respect to the guards of the king and his brothers, had so strongly irritated the court against Turgot, that, to strengthen his cause, he had recourse to the measure of publishing his edicts :

I. For the suppression of the bank of Poissy.

II. For the suppression of the duty on corn in the market-place.

III. For the diminution of the duty on tallow.

IV. For the suppression of custom-house duties.

V. For the suppression of companies and monopolies.

VI. For the suppression of the *corvées*, and the substitution of a tax to replace them.

These edicts, so favourable to foreign merchandise, diminishing the price of candles, se

burdensome to labouring mechanics, elevating apprentices and journeymen to the rank of masters, favouring the poor in the abolition of the *corvées*, imposing an annual charge of ten millions for taxes upon the land-holders for the maintenance of the high roads, raised up against him the more opulent classes of the community, and did not augment the number of his friends.

M. de Maurepas was ill of the gout, and M. Turgot paid him a visit, for the purpose of speaking of these edicts. The old minister, who recollected what had been the consequence to M. le Duc, first minister, of his proposing, in the beginning of the reign of Lewis XV., to ease the people at the expence of the privileged proprietors, professed to admire Turgot's plans, but at the same time resolved to counteract them. "I have only one apprehension," said Maurepas: "which is, that their enrolment will be refused."—"Certainly," said Turgot, "but then we have the resource of a bed of justice."—"I did not think of that," replied Maurepas, "that mean is infallible." M. Turgot sent his six edicts to the parliament, who enrolled the first, and sent the five last to the commissaries, who, on the 9th of February 1776, had been appointed, with the prince of Conty, to examine them.

The king had given directions to the parlia-

ment, to proceed immediately to the enrollment of the edicts; and the commissaries assembled every evening to oppose it. The prince of Conty, however, demanded a private audience of the king, to represent to him the inconveniences of the edicts. The king replied, that he would not confer on the subject with any persons but those of his council, and refused to see the prince.

It was under these circumstances that six bodies of shopkeepers broke out into deprecations against Turgot, "who had dared to raise apprentices and journeymen to the rank of masters." Seeing their very occupations on the brink of destruction, they exclaimed from all sides "against an outrage, which," said they, "tears from us our property, and associates us with our dependents." They published memorials, which were suppressed by the court.

The parliament, on its side, framed a catalogue of the books of the economist sect, which grew more numerous every day, and appeared fit subjects for prosecution. The king and the parliaments, as if in emulation of each other, respectively suppressed the publications of the opposite party. It was a battle of books: the court had its authors, and the friends of liberty marshalled an equal phalanx against it.

"One is tempted to believe," said Seguier,

the attorney-general, in his motion for the suppression of these publications, "that there exists a secret party, an unknown agent in the state, which, by subterranean energies, seeks to subvert it from its foundations; like those volcanoes, which, preceded by thunders and earthquakes, at length break out in a sudden eruption, and cover every thing around with an ardent stream of ashes, lava, and ruin, bursting out with concentred rage from the bowels of the earth.

"Every nation has its manners, its laws, its customs, and its usages. Political institutions constitute public order. To interrupt this order, is to assail the very constitution on which government is founded. The laws of every nation invariably partake of the spirit, character, and opinions of its inhabitants. Every legislator who would render a people wiser, or better, should consult their peculiar notions and character.

"By what fatality does it happen, that the writers of our days make it their peculiar study to combat, destroy, and subvert every thing? This edifice of ordinances, the work of so many ages, the fruit of the prudence of so many kings, the result of the studies and vigilance of so many enlightened and consummate ministers and magistrates, is treated by the new precep-

tors of mankind with an insulting contempt, of which their imagination, exalted by the enthusiasm of a false and delusive system, could alone be susceptible."

Such was the language of M. Seguier, in exclaiming against the pamphlet of M. Boucerf, one of the secretaries of M. Turgot, a man of an enlightened understanding and revolutionary tenets, who taught in 1775 the doctrines that were put into execution in 1789. The king demanded of the first president, to put an end to the prosecution of M. Boucerf. To this demand the parliament replied by an *arrêté*, the sense of which was, "to intreat the king to put an end to the enthusiastical sallies of the economists."

The parliament persisting to prosecute the writings of this party, the court showed itself equally obstinate to protect them. The magistrates remonstrated to the king, that the edicts had an unequivocal tendency to subvert the monarchy and the social system of France, to confound all distinction of rank, to rob the nobility of the rewards earned by their services, and to humble them by the imposition of a disgraceful tax.

The king replied, that his edicts contained nothing that might not have been foreseen; and that their object was, to relieve that branch

of his subjects who subsisted by the labour of their hands, and were most exposed to the pressure of indigence. As to the *corvée*, the king said, that every loyal subject ought to feel himself eager to pay the tax substituted in its room, since he had himself been the first to pay it upon the lands of the crown; "and now," said he, "that I have been at the pains to develop the reasons which induced me to persist in my resolution, I expect that my parliament will no longer defer the simple and unqualified enrolment of my edicts."

It was precisely because the king entered into this explanation, that the parliament continued the dispute. On the 8th of March, 1776, they resolved to renew their remonstrances, and to press the king to give them an unbiassed examination. The king replied, by fixing a day for a bed of justice. This was the first time that France and Europe had witnessed the spectacle of an executive government struggling against the corps of the magistracy, the government anxious to relieve the people from an intolerable burden, and the magistracy to retain them in a condition of suffering and adversity. The prince of Conty, sick, and in a dying condition, caused himself to be carried down to the parliament, not to make any remarks, but to protest against the edicts. The

keeper of the seals delivered the remonstrance, and the king put it in his pocket. The attorney-general, M. Seguier, instead of demanding, according to custom, the enrolment of the edicts, protested against their being transcribed. It was, I repeat, a struggle between usurpation and the general interest. The parliament said, that the monopolies were properties legally acquired; and the king, from his throne, replied, in his edict upon the *corvées*, that, "desirous to assure to all his subjects the full enjoyment of their rights, he saw with pain the infractions committed upon their common and unalterable claims by these institutions; but that no time, no opinion, not even the acts of authority itself, could make these usurpations legal." He added, that "the right of cultivating any species of manual labour was no gift of the crown; the king could not sell, and the people could not purchase it. He, therefore, from this day forward, granted to all his subjects the liberty of following whatever trade they thought fit." This, as will readily be perceived, was a grand step in the progress towards the declaration of the rights of man. It was a solemn admission of those rights, sanctioned by the king himself, that neither laws, usages, nor lapse of time, could lawfully diminish.

In these critical circumstances, the prince

of Conty passed his nights in the parliament. He continued, though in extreme old age, to be the soul and instigator of the opposition. The duke of Orleans, on the contrary, recollecting the turbulence which had attended the last parliamentary affairs, withdrew to Sainte-Assise, the quiet of which was become more analogous to his character than the ebullitions of the magistracy. The duke of Chartres was rather inclined to the opposition; but wishing to obtain the reversion of the post of admiral, now held by his father-in-law, he proceeded to acquire claims to it, by entering the sea-service. Besides, the Orleans family, faithful in the support of their popular system, were unwilling to engage in a dispute that was contrary to the general plan of their house. Accordingly, the duke of Chartres set out for Toulon, and embarked on board the Provence.

CHAP. VIII.

"Le Monarque Accompli"—History of the Work so entitled—Analogy of this Work, written by Languinais, with the political Systems of the Times—It excites the Resentment of the Parliament—Is prosecuted by the Attorney-General—Is condemned to be burned—Character of this Work.

IN the times preceding the middle of the eighteenth century, it was customary for kings to give orders to the people: at present, the people instruct their kings.

Before this epoch, institutors gave lessons of obedience to subjects: at present they teach them to revolt.

Such were the reflexions suggested by the perusal of a work by Languinais, entitled *Le Monarque Accompli*, "Accomplished Monarch." This author has since become a member of the conservative senate of a republic, that succeeded to the house of Bourbon, whose destruction it was the object of this publication, which appeared in 1774, to effect.

This production is the work of an upright and enlightened man, a man of great virtues, but full of zeal for the dangerous systems of reform. It was the malady of the times, and the harbinger which, to men of sober understand-

ing, announced the catastrophe which such authors had constantly in view.

The work was printed abroad, nor did its author occasion in France either disorder or sedition: it had been printed two years, notwithstanding which, the magistracy, who were searching in all quarters for motives of accusation against the innovating system of the economists, and the ministerial operations of Turgot, summoned it to the tribunal.

The attorney-general, Seguier, began his speech by approving of "the apparent tendency," as he called it, "of the work."

"The *panegyric of Trajan* has perhaps led many sovereigns to walk in his steps. Do not, however, be astonished," said the attorney-general, "if we call for your avenging arm on a production, which appears intended to present you with the portrait of an accomplished monarch. The most genuine and merited eulogium is sometimes merely a veil deceitfully thrown over the most seditious propositions; and this, in all ages, has been the common subterfuge of those audacious writers, whose aim is to generate dissension and disorder in the government. The author of the book we have just denounced to you, after expatiating with enthusiasm on the eminent qualities of his hero, the emperor Joseph II., next

places before your eyes, the better to effect his purpose, the portrait of the miserable condition of his people, on which he has bestowed such an unnatural excess of colouring, that it is not difficult at once to perceive that it has no original. He next hastens to destroy all the bonds which keep the people in a state of obedience; he annuls all sorts of subordination; he calls them to revolt; he furnishes them with arms, to cut the throats of the monsters who devour their substance, and that they might not die unrevenged of the evils brought upon them.

" 'Unhappy people,' exclaims Languinais, 'whose chains are so singularly oppressive, exert the resolution, when it is become necessary, to exterminate your tyrants! Let the spirit of that resolution be henceforth your motto; kings shall tremble before you, but you will not tremble before any one *!'—The author goes still further. He says, that there is an epoch which becomes *necessary* in certain governments, 'a terrible sanguinary epoch, but which is the signal of liberty:—it is the civil war, of which I am now going to treat. . . . . '

* M. Languinais did not foresee, that he himself would tremble after the operation of his injunction, in the presence of those who had executed it.

" Can we be ignorant," continued Seguier, " that humanity is indebted for the disturbance it experiences, to those enterprising characters, who breathe nothing but independence, and who wish to establish in society the same licence and the same liberty as are diffused in their writings. Dangerous innovators, who, without having studied the progress of the human mind, conceive themselves qualified to direct it, and accordingly propose for its adoption their own seditious systems! Senseless and infuriate declaimers, who separate from mankind, to raise themselves above it, and to plunge into error their followers; and who, under the pretext of reforming governments, dare to promise themselves their general destruction!"

M. Seguier, that his speech might produce a greater effect, allowed himself to be unjust. It is true he quoted passages of this work that contained revolutionary opinions, but he passed over in silence the author's views for administration and the public welfare. Besides, it could not but be expected, that the extravagant power, and the growing abuses of the military, would experience a termination; and Languinais, who applauded in Joseph II. all that he thought commendable in his personal qualifications, might surely, without crime, expose to view a picture, exhibiting the natural consequences,

which he perceived at a distance, of the abuse of power, and to which he clearly pointed. The parliament therefore was punishing his foresight and his denunciations rather than his actions. Languinais was so little capable of carrying his theory into practice, that he voted against the death of the king.

Le Monarque Accompli was burned in 1776, by the hands of the hangman.

At this juncture the state experienced some very alarming attacks. The abbé Raynal, also, treated of the extermination of kings; Diderot suggested the most cruel and disastrous propositions; and the whole generation seemed to applaud these extravagant opinions. The object in question was nothing less, than, by fire and sword, to exterminate the first orders of the state. The clergy offered remonstrances to the king, but were not attended to; the parliament burned the works of Languinais and Raynal, which, instead of disgracing, gave them additional celebrity.

It ought not to be forgotten, that the principal and most undaunted personages among Turgot's friends were the purest and most zealous portion of the Girondist faction in the national convention. Languinais, who menaced the king with a revolution; l'abbé Fauchet, who from the pulpit proclaimed the virtues of

Turgot, and drew on himself an interdiction from the archbishop; Condorcet, who replied to all the pamphlets published by the anti-economist party against the minister; all courageously opposed the death of the king in the convention, and braved even the death which impended over themselves, in support of their opinion, their hatred alike of popular tyranny and regal despotism. This mixed sentiment was the distinctive character of the Girondist party: we shall see the effects it produced in the great business of the state in 1776, when we come to sum up, at the end of this period of our history, the effects which flowed from the singular and dangerous character of M. de Maurepas; and to appreciate two contradictory operations of this grey-headed courtier, the recal of the parliaments proscribed for their resistance, and the exile of the profligate tools of authority in 1774; and, two years after, the exile of the popular ministers, and the choice of their successors, zealous partisans of the absolute authority of monarchs.

CHAP. IX.

Opinions of M. Turgot on the Interests of France and England in relation to the American Insurgents.—Turgot, incited by the Desire of consummating his Plans of Reform, opposes the War—He suggests Indications, tending to prove, that the English were inactive, and inclined to a System of Peace in regard to France, in the Month of April 1776.

THE insurgents, at the epoch of the resignation of M. Turgot, had not declared their independence; but they had already elected a military leader to repulse the British troops, and were in a state of actual insurrection. M. de Vergennes now consulted M. Turgot, member of the council, by letter, as to what steps ought to be adopted by France and Spain, in regard to the war between England and America. Turgot replied, that it was certainly essential for France and Spain, that England should subjugate her colonies; by which means she would be deprived of the riches that would otherwise arise from them in times of peace, and also be under the necessity of employing a part of her forces to keep them in dependence, and, by degrees, exhaust herself by the effort.

M. Turgot conceived, that colonies in general were inclining to a separation from their

mother-countries, and wished to prepare European governments for such an event. He said, that a reconciliation between England and America paved the way to England's declaring war against France. It appeared to him, that at present (1776) England entertained no hostile intentions against us, and that we ought, on our part, to avoid all projects of aggression. This had also been the advice of M. de Vergennes in the preceding year, partly on account of the conscientious feeling of the king, who would not allow even the mention of war, and partly from the apprehension of perpetuating the feebleness of government, by a premature use of forces, which, under the new reign, were beginning to improve, and also because an offensive war might prove the means of reconciliation between Great-Britain and her colonies, which it was the interest of France to prevent. Turgot advised, that the closest observation should be made of the dispositions of England, and of what passed in the colonies, but at the same time to avoid all appearance of direct interference.

He also recommended, that France should facilitate to the colonists the means of procuring ammunition and money, without departing from her system of neutrality, or affording them direct assistance; that she should refit her navy,

but with as little display as possible; prepare a squadron at Toulon, and another at Brest; while a third should be secretly equipped by Spain; and, in case of a sudden prospect of war, that troops should be assembled on the coast for an expedition against England. "France and Spain," said he, "being actuated by one common interest, should act in concert, and place an entire confidence in each other: but it is but too probable, that England possesses, among the offices of the Spanish administration, some secret means of intelligence in regard to its designs. The hostile project that, in 1776, was concerted between the French and Spanish ministers, was with great promptitude communicated to England by the disloyalty of some of the clerks. He was of opinion, therefore, that any projects intended against Minorca, Gibraltar, or the Indies, could be confided without danger only to the king of Spain and M. de Grimaldi, exclusively of every other person.

"There is a certain season of the year," added Turgot, "which, relatively to England, requires our particular attention. That power is well aware, that the choicest part of our navy is occupied in the fisheries from the month of April to the end of October. England also knows, that in that interval our vessels are employed in the American trade, and this is the

moment she chooses for commencing hostilities, even previous to any declaration of war. We had a proof of this in 1755.

" To this perplexing circumstance in the affairs of France, succeeds one that is equally so in those of England, whose sailors, from the month of October to that of January, are engaged in expeditions to Italy, Spain, and Portugal, where they dispose of their cargoes: so that England, during that time, could not enter upon any preparations for war, without adopting, in order to prevent dangers, precautions, which would discover her views; and if, in the interval between January and April, she were to form a design of surprising our colonies, its execution would be long enough deferred to prevent our being apprised of her intentions till after the departure of our Newfoundland fishing vessels."

This regular and annual rotation furnished an obvious means for penetrating the views of the British ministry. Hence M. Turgot inferred, " that France would not fail to obtain timely indications of the intentions of England, and that the urgent necessity of an economical reform ought to be a sufficient argument for deferring all actual hostilities as long as possible."

The views of M. Turgot, as to the general nature of political liberty, scarcely permitted

him to adopt and express sentiments so unfavourable to the American insurgents. Turgot had been a friend to the Genevese and Dutch republicans; naturally he might have been expected to be so to the Americans; but his project of reforming the French government, according to the plans he had conceived in his mind, occupied him entirely, and he felt that he could not propose and carry them into effect in a time of war. Hence his plan of standing upon the defensive, which induced him to abandon the United States to the despotism of the court of London. He shrunk from the expence of a maritime war, and was desirous to occupy the English with their internal concerns pending the regeneration of France. Turgot openly declared himself against the war in the month of April 1776, at the very moment that the king and the rest of his ministers had resolved to declare it. This opposition of Turgot, and his plans of internal regeneration, united to hasten his disgrace.

Turgot had an opportunity of knowing afterwards, and in a short time before his death, the progress of the United States, which he had been so little inclined to assist. He disapproved of their religious tendencies, and the distribution of power among different bodies, in imitation of England, with its king, lords, and commons.

America had a representative assembly, a council, and a governor; this highly displeased him; "I cannot perceive," said he, "that they have paid attention to the great distinction, the only one founded in the nature of things, of two classes of men, the proprietors of land, and the non-proprietors; to their different interests and respective rights relative to legislation, and to the administration of justice and police."

As to the means of making war upon Great-Britain, M. Turgot, who feared it, gave the king, with this view, a note upon the state of the finances in the month of April 1776, which was conceived in these terms.

"In spite of every saving that has been introduced, the expenditure of France at this moment exceeds the receipt by twenty millions per annum. It is true, there are comprehended in this expenditure certain redemptions of annuities falling in at stated periods: but the king cannot divert a livre of these redemptions, without injury to public faith and national credit. There are therefore but three means of supplying the deficiency, the imposition of new taxes, the admitting a national bankruptcy, or the establishment of a great and extensive reduction of the public expence. Your majesty's benevolence and justice, and your regard for the honour of your character, have con-

stantly made you reject the thought of bankruptcy in any case, and of new taxes in a period of peace.

" The expedient of a reduced expenditure is practicable, if your majesty can only depend on your own resolution.

" The first reduction of expenditure ought to be a saving in the regular disbursements; because that would generate such a public confidence, as to enable you to borrow money at a low rate, to redeem such loans as have been made upon burdensome terms. If then these are events which may lead us into a war, at least we ought to guard against it as the greatest of misfortunes, because it would render for a long time, perhaps for ever, reform impossible. By using our powers to-day, before they are fully ripe, we shall risk the fixing ourselves in a state of weakness for ever."

CHAP. X.

Pamphlet circulated by Monsieur, the King's Brother, against M. Turgot.—The Minister is accused of desiring to alter the Principles of the French Monarchy, at the Instigation of England.—Dialogue between an English Genius, the Count de Maurepas, and his Wife, on the Necessity of perfectioning the French.—Portrait of Madame de Maurepas, of the Abbé Very, of M. Turgot, of the Economists, of the Encyclopedists, of the Parliaments, and of Lewis XVI., by Monsieur.—Lewis XVI. become an Economist.—View of the Administration of M. Turgot.—According to Monsieur, every thing in France proceeds on Mechanical Principles—Every thing is imperceptibly conducted by England, our Rival—Analysis of Monsieur's Opinions on those Subjects.

THE inveterate hatred of the religionist and jesuitical party against England soon became apparent. When the downfal of M. Turgot was resolved on, that power was accused of having suggested the reforming operations which that minister employed, with a view to the subversion of the existing government. Monsieur was at the head of the accusing party. Not having succeeded in his attempts to preserve the parliaments of M. Maupeou, irritated at the neglect he experienced when he made, what he

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thought, the most forcible remonstrances against undermining the principles of the French government, he vented his displeasure, not knowing what to do more efficaciously, in privately disseminating disaffected pamphlets, and in insisting, whenever called to the sittings of the parliament, on the ancient doctrine of the French monarchy.

On the first of April, 1776, a lampoon was published, of which he was the author: it was entitled *Songe de M. de Maurepas, ou les Machines du Gouvernement Française*, "the Vision of M. de Maurepas, or the Fantocini of the French Government." This publication is pregnant with wit, sarcasm, argument, evidence, and acute observation, not without a due portion of exaggerated statements. It is, however, the most striking and memorable historical record that relates to these transactions. I shall therefore give it a place in this work.

"The genius of England," said Monsieur, "a power irreconcileably hostile to France, had, for some time, taken up his abode in Paris. Convinced, that the most infallible mode of degrading a nation is to change its fundamental manners, and to alter its character, he constituted certain persons, of a singular turn of mind, his agents, and employed them, under his direction, to adulterate and distort the national modes of thinking. This genius, who looked on France with the most malignant aspect, ob-

serving the restless temper of M. de Maurepas, believed, that if he could succeed to misguide him in the choice of a minister of finances, *this mistake would hasten on a revolution, by making France at variance with herself,* and would irrevocably insure the superiority to England, her rival.

" Full of this prospect, the malicious genius takes upon himself the figure and character of a dream; and, having assumed the resemblance of madame de Maurepas, set out, leaning upon the shoulder of the phantom of the abbé Very, her director. Presenting himself in this disguise to M. de Maurepas as he slept, he set before him an automaton machine, amply provided with ordinances and edicts. In the middle of that part of the machine which served it for a head, a volcano was seen, which seemed to hasten and struggle to disembogue its contents. From every cleft in its sides escaped coin, corn, and provisions of every kind, which, precipitating themselves from the centre to the circumference, in a clear and rarefied atmosphere, seemed to find their way back to the centre again. In the places where the ears might be expected to be found, two large pipes showed themselves, emitting from time to time the fantastic productions of the abbé Roubeau and of Dupont. Among these might easily be distinguished the *Physiocratic*;

the *Advice to the People*, the *Epistolary Notes of a Geometrician*; the *Analytical Catechism of a Natural Philosopher*; the *Ephemerides*, &c. At the extremity of these pipes were seen six singular figures, whose office was to feed the volcano, and to prepare its explosions. From its enormous basis issued voices, which repeated without ceasing, *philosophy, liberty, equality, and net production!*

"The material of which the machine was composed was the coarsest brass, covered by intervals with fillets of bronze. The attitudes which the machine successively assumed were firm and impassioned; its motions abrupt and furious; whatever it did was done with the combined force of all its springs. Whether it moved this way or that, it seemed to collect its entire strength, and to threaten to crush whatever opposed it.

"M. Maurepas, looking up with astonishment, surveyed, measured from head to foot the fatal machine, and then, with the gay, squeaking, infantine voice, with which he equally governs a great empire and amuses a party of fops and ladies, said to the seeming madame de Maurepas, 'In what museum, for God's sake, did you find this extraordinary puppet?'

"'Puppet!' replied madame de Maurepas, with indignation: 'Can you be ignorant that

the whole world is only a great puppet-show? You are my puppet, I am the puppet of the abbé Very, and he the puppet of I know not who. In the whole physical and moral world, every thing is moved by springs and wires; one pulls a string, and another moves responsibly to the impulse. Lewis XVI. himself is just as mechanical, and as mere an instrument, as the lowest of his courtiers.'

"This idea, so philosophical and profound, was at the same time full of frolic. It was precisely in the tone of M. de Maurepas, suited his genius much better than all the political reasoning in the world, and was sure to make him a convert to the most extraordinary revolutions. 'What do you think of it?' said madame de Maurepas. 'Examine my play-thing, study its features, and inquire through all France where you may find its living likeness. The man who resembles it you are bound to call into office. He will be *the regenerator of France.*'

"'Bless my soul!' replied M. de Maurepas, 'who could have thought it? I see nothing promising in the physiognomy: besides, what if I should make a mistake in the likeness?'

"'Fear nothing,' replied the evil genius; 'the universe cannot boast of a person of whom I am the counterpart. Mistake is im-

possible. The French, inconstant and fickle in their nature, have need of a wise and deep-thinking conductor. The king himself has not the requisite consistency; but the puppet, the machine, who will be pointed out to you by his resemblance to me, has every quality that can be beneficial to your country. The government has hitherto been fluctuating; its operations have been partial and successive. That is not the way; every part and member of the state must be thrown together into the crucible. The last king had good intentions; but, with all his good intentions, he exiled you. After your retreat, we saw a succession of ministers, whose irresolute and half-formed measures presented to us the mere skeleton of a system. There was nothing bold in the plan, none of the requisite daring. One minister stood in awe of the bishops, another of the chief nobility, and a third suffered himself to be made a tool to some overgrown favourite. They were all knaves or cowards; they began every thing, they went through with nothing.'

" 'Vastly well said!' replied M. de Maurepas; 'yet I am not convinced. This machine, introduced into the political vessel, will make it heel entirely on one side; the consequence will be a dissolution of first principles, and a violent concussion of the state. I must, therefore, ob-

ject, that Lewis XVI. is too young to commit the destiny of his whole reign to such an experiment, and I am myself too old to be able to weather such a storm. Be content then, my dear wife: I prefer yielding to the current of established usages and customary abuses. There is little brilliancy, indeed, in such a conduct; but then it enables me to digest my dinner, and to pass my nights in tranquillity. I am too old to be led by the *ignis fatuus* of glory.'

" 'You are blind to your own interest,' replied the genius. 'Do not imagine that we wish to give you the torment of thinking, or the labour of personal exertion; you shall lose nothing of your tranquillity, the quietness of your digestion, or the frigidity of your political unbelief. When you restored the parliaments, tell me, did it cost you much trouble? Did it rob you of one hour's sleep, either by night or by day? You committed the whole operation to your journeymen, and they were at no more expence of sagacity and foresight than yourself. Every thing will proceed with equal regularity in the great enterprise, the regeneration of France. The French are so indulgent: look up, consider well the prospect I now set before your eyes. Behold all these lighted furnaces, and this vast magazine of materials! See how regularly the work goes on! see what insignifi-

cant urchins I employ in my favourite operation, the mystery of the *net production !'*

"M. de Maurepas lifted up his eyes, and beheld a wondrous spectacle. On one side he saw a vast alembic, out of which was extracted the *Gazette of Agriculture* ; on another, he saw several employed in distilling the *Ephemerides du Citoyen*, a periodical essence, which intoxicates all who use it, bewilders their senses, and fills them with maniac enterprise and zeal. The father of Maurepas discovered a dark elaboratory, where they were forming *the embryo schemes and elementary conceptions of the organical, patriotic municipalities.* Silence and solemnity reigned through every quarter. In this scene was prepared unthought-of advantages for the wretched and the poor. In these scenes was also prepared the general annihilation of every social tie, and the utter subversion of all inequality of fortune or rank. The measures of government are no longer influenced by the weight of property and consideration ; France is thrown into a mould, dissimilar and opposite to her former condition. She appears like a smooth tablet of wax, which twenty novices scribble over with their economical plans for the good of the nation. This laboratory is connected, by a secret and subterranean passage, with the manufactory of the articles of the *En-*

cyclopedia. The puppet receives from the laboratory and the manufactory such communications as momentarily direct his motions.

"M. de Maurepas, impressed with what he saw, suddenly started out of his sleep. He is not a superstitious character, he is even a sort of *esprit fort*. He believes in no article of faith, ecclesiastical or revealed, but he believes in his wife. The impression this vision made upon him follows him every where. He takes it for an express inspiration. When he looks upon madame de Maurepas, he no longer sees any thing in her but an organ of the divine decrees; and the hypocritical abbé Very, whose figure he had seen in his dream, partakes in the advantage of this mysterious prejudice.

"The abbé Very was a subaltern minister, despotic, ambitious, servile, and overbearing, exerting himself in secret; with no tie to his cloth from integrity or piety, to the court from rank, or to public business from the talents he possessed, but supplying all these defects with impudence and intrigue. This abbé Very decided the fate of the French empire.

"There was another man in France, aukward and ungracious, confused and dull of apprehension, with more harshness than character, with more obstinacy than fortitude, with more impatience than sensibility; a mountebank in govern-

ment and morals; framed to bring the former into discredit, and to make the latter odious: insolent from vanity, timid from pride, and as unacquainted with human nature, which he never knew, as with public affairs, which he had always misapprehended—that man was Turgot.

"He was one of those half-witted, seeming thinkers, who adopt every thing that is visionary and exaggerated. He was held to be profound, he was in the last degree superficial; but his deliriousness, adapted to circumstances and times, was found to seduce. Night and day he muttered to himself the cabalistical terms, *philosophy, liberty, equality, and net production.* It was a sort of madness, that he had made fashionable, the watch-word of the praters of the day. M. Turgot was exalted to the skies, celebrated by the impudent scoundrels who teach the public voice to repeat theirs; and his name was at length brought to the foot of the throne, by an eternal succession of timid whispers, which had given him an airy reputation.

"M. de Maurepas, in applying all the circumstances of his vision to the character of M. Turgot, conceived that he beheld in him the undoubted reformer of France. He no longer doubted that he was called by his destiny to the operation of this grand revolution. His wife, inspired by the abbé Very, who in

his turn was inspired by the evil genius of England, was fully persuaded that this was the case; so M. de Maurepas could not feel the least uncertainty about it.

"Behold M. Turgot, then, our minister of finances! All at once the auxiliary troops are put into motion, the economical forges are worked, eulogium glows from the pens of the whole party; all Paris resounds with their emotion; they run, they congratulate each other, they embrace. The golden age is on the point of reviving in France. Truth and probity will be the guardians of the throne. 'Oh! too fortunate monarch,' exclaims one, 'to have found M. Turgot, who will govern, enlighten, and inspire you!...Tremble, knaves, the day of justice is come.' In the lullaby of these presages, M. Turgot commenced his beneficent career, for the happiness and welfare of France.

"The first use Turgot made of his credit, was to render himself so completely master of the still flexible springs of the character of Lewis XVI., as to engage him to an exclusive imitation of his own motions. Under the pretext of preventing in this young monarch the abuse of a too ready docility, he entirely destroyed its principle, and made of him a puppet, who could be thrown only into one attitude. Satisfied with this precaution, Turgot now dis-

plays the banners of liberty. The people, who think they have liberty enough while they do not want bread, do not comprehend this signal, which unfortunately becomes that of a scarcity. Upon this, the people understand liberty in a literal sense, and accordingly they mutiny and revolt. Turgot, with his usual passion for the system of liberty, but with some apprehensions also in regard to consequences, supports his reasonings with bayonets, he uses in fact very military arguments with this his well-beloved people; he imprisons, he hangs them; sometimes he mistakes the innocent for the guilty; but no matter, he gains the battle. The hanged were effectually hanged; tranquillity is restored in France.

"This history was certainly not consistent with his professions of tolerance and humanity; but can one always be consistent? It is much easier to hang than to convince. Besides, it was necessary to join this operation to his economical system, *oportet unum mori pro populo.* The spectacle of two dead men on a gibbet, raised forty perpendicular feet from the ground, was certainly a very *high* proof of the excellence of liberty; so every body admitted it. It was clear that the corn was in a state of liberty, since M. Turgot was under the necessity of exhausting the royal treasury to guard it.

"M. Turgot considered the French as a flock, whose habits it was necessary to break with violence. He despised every one who differed from him in opinion. He would blush to have so far abased himself, as either to captivate, seduce, or endeavour to weaken the empire of contrary opinions. He was very superior to such petty contrivances. He believed himself born to reign; that he astonished cannot be disputed.

"There were in Paris six respectable Frenchmen, who, in perfect reliance on the faith of treaties, quietly enjoyed an hereditary fortune. This fortune was neither the price of oppression, nor the scandal of morals; the public utility became the pretext of the ruin of these men. Ignorant how to oppose the authority which oppressed them, they endured a course of molestation, and then submitted. Wonders were promised both to Lewis XVI., whose treasures they exaggerated, and to the public, whom they professed to relieve. All parties were deceived. Turgot alone obtained what he had proposed to himself, the satisfaction of alarming the whole kingdom, of defying the censure of all, of discovering what his powers could attain, and of measuring the career he could run, using the pretence of liberty, while he employed the resources of despotism. The veil

however at length was removed; he said to the French nation, 'for the last thousand years you have had laws, privileges, property, customs, and the distinctions of ranks. All this is chimera and barbarism. Make yourselves anew; let the discretion of the first ages of the world be your guide; throw the reins on the neck of impulse and of instinct; break your fetters; rise superior to every prejudice.' He said, and behold six voluminous decrees full of abstraction, well purified in the furnace of liberty, and *containing the inestimable elements of a general revolution*, were offered to the acceptance of Lewis XVI.

"To insure his positions, Turgot associated in his projects another puppet of a very extraordinary description; this was M. de Malesherbes. The action of this machine was brilliant, rapid, and imposing, but at the same time unequal and extravagant; it yielded to all forms with singular facility, but retained none; to-day popular, to-morrow dependent; and with equal docility employed in tracing formularies for republicanism, or signing schedules for despotism. M. Turgot had the direction of this machine. The virtuous Lewis XVI., whose economist opinions were stronger than ever, was in raptures at the contents of the decrees. M. de Malesherbes threw M. de Maurepas into ecstacies.

M. Hue de Miroménil, keeper of the seals, with great deference proposed some doubts; the secret council adopted the five decrees. But to procure their enrolment in the magistrature, which in course of time was become rusty and untractable, the intervention either of authority or corruption was necessary. M. Turgot had sounded this collection of machines, organised after the manner of the antique, and they had peremptorily repulsed him. The love of their country, of which all that remained was centered in this assembly, the enlightened attachment they felt for the person of Lewis XVI., the skill they possessed in public affairs, and a sage distrust of novelty and innovation, all contributed to make them regard M. Turgot as the most lying of prophets. Meanwhile the six edicts were sent to the parliament, to receive from their approbation their requisite sanction and authority. A reader endowed with the necessary effrontery, entered upon the reading of the preamble, which introduced the provisions of the law. The parliament yawned, nodded, and the reader himself felt the influence of the god of sleep. Suddenly a voice louder than thunder startled the assembly; it repeated those celebrated words from Plutarch, 'Thou sleepest, Brutus, and Rome is enslaved!' The reading goes on—the

debate is commenced—the most venerable person in the assembly rises and expresses himself thus:—'I suspect that M. Turgot secretly intends to promote the dignity of the nation; he wishes to restore energy to the French people, by abusing the authority with which he is intrusted. He will inflict such a shock on the very pillars of the empire, that it will be necessary to rebuild the entire edifice. From this chaos will spring up that wonderful spectacle, *a sovereign people*. We love the blood of the Bourbons; we see that Lewis XVI. is acting in the integrity of his heart. It is our duty then to cure him of the tender passion he has conceived for M. Turgot, by showing him the precipice towards which that minister is conducting him, and the vile and disgraceful trick which philosophy is on the point to put upon him.'

"This discourse drew forth acclamations from every part of the assembly. The majority of the magistracy felt the most decided displeasure against the views of M. Turgot; and his edicts, properly analysed, manifested nothing in the last analysis, but disturbances, commotions, and discontent. Turgot, apprised of his miscarriage, exerts himself the more to fix the perseverance of Lewis XVI. It was in this important crisis, that the true, the auspicious

genius of France, stood confessed before M. de Maurepas, under the figure of the celebrated Colbert. 'What do you there, at the foot of the throne?' said the genius. 'How is it that you permit the ancient inheritance of the house of Bourbon, embellished by my labours, to be torn to tatters by hands the most rash and sacrilegious? The reign of sarcasms and lampoons is over. You sleep upon the top of a volcano. Rise, see your sagacity deceived, your noble birth dishonoured, disgrace and infamy attached to the last scene of your life. Your irresolution is a crime, your neutrality is cowardice. Either hide your head for ever in the womb of desolation, that you may escape being regarded as an accomplice, or turn aside this torrent which strikes at your own existence, and, by informing the prince, justify the confidence of the nation.'

"M. de Maurepas, astonished at this speech, according to custom, asks advice of his wife, and of the abbé Very, the hireling of Turgot. 'How can you hesitate?' replied the pretended madame de Maurepas. 'Can you think of opposing yourself, singly, to the sects of the economists, and the encyclopedists, united under the standard of M. Turgot? Have you well weighed the mighty influence over public opinion possessed by MM. Roubeau, Dupont, Mirabeau, the abbé Morrelet, D'Alembert, and

Condorcet? They all swear that M. Turgot is in the right, and Lewis XVI. admits the attestation. Go then, digest the morsel they give you; despise and laugh at them in secret, and trust your wife, who once more assures you, that you never were, and never will be, in the right.'

"M. de Maurepas, at these words, acknowledged himself convinced, gives his approbation to the edicts, and a bed of justice is consequently held.

"There every thing, more than in any other place, is puppet and fantocini. All wills are governed by an invisible influence; all motions are directed by wood and wires. In a bed of justice, we see a multitude of grave personages, who are solemnly consulted, and whose answer is not even listened to; who give their opinion, and are forbidden to argue; whose whole prerogative lies in two little monosyllables, one of which is counted for nothing, and the other for very little more than nothing. The sense of twenty millions of individuals is pronounced by the king alone, who bids the subalterns repeat whatever he dictates. The consent of the assembly, which refuses its consent, is taken for granted; the king pronounces, that they approve; and, he being present, no one must dare to contradict him. The bed of justice is

then at an end; the magistrates remain the depositaries of what they choose to record, and the administrative executors of what they profess to abhor. In the collection of suffrages, two voices alone dared to oppose the enrollment; the first, prompted by a soul of fire, conveyed the language of truth to the ear of the king. Lewis XVI. stood astonished! It was all over with M. Turgot, had it been possible for reason once publicly to triumph over authority; but that was a thing altogether without example—a king of France must never allow himself to retract.

"The edicts were now proclaimed. All was liberty through the capital of the empire. The career of all arts and all trades was thrown open. Every one got up in the morning, taylor, baker, locksmith, jeweller, just what they pleased. A few narrow souls, incapable of seeing any thing upon a grand scale, regarded this, however, as a most monstrous project: they pretended, that every thing is cast and corporation through the whole system of nature. Look through the universe, said they, and you will find but two nations to whom this discipline is not familiar—the Dutch and the Tartars; the first a nation of brokers, and the second a nation of free-booters:—They added, as the French cannot be brokers, they will become

robbers: avarice will throw every thing into confusion, and bring nothing to perfection. The home trade will have neither credit nor confidence, and foreign trade neither dignity nor ascendancy. The brightest days of France have been spent under the prohibitory system. To all this, M. Turgot replied, that he had foreseen every thing that could happen; nay, if he had foreseen nothing, he had provided for every thing; and, in fine, if he had provided for nothing, he would have the glory of having convulsed a great nation. If his schemes did not prosper, he would have no more to do, than to replace every thing just as he found it: let his views be false, and his experiments abortive, he would always have this resource; it is the prerogative of great men to electrify the age in which they live: the shock once given, let every one take care of himself as he can.

"The great man, once ascertained in M. Turgot, every thing was to be hoped, every thing was to be suffered from him. His wonderful compositions were received with a respect not unmingled with terror. They were written in the style of a wrangler. It was the ruling passion of M. Turgot to give a reason for every thing, and it was his destiny to give a reason for nothing. His periods were long,

perplexed, and circumlocutory: whether it were the design of them to impose upon the fools, who always reverence what they do not understand, or to initiate them imperceptibly in the mysteries of science, and to make them all economists, without their so much as suspecting it. Hitherto our kings had thought themselves the first magistrates of one people, entitled to the same laws, the same vigilance, and the same affection. M. Turgot had looked much deeper. Anatomising the state, as it was his talent to do, he discerned two people in one nation: the first, whom it was right to tease, to perplex, and to turn into hypocrites; the second, whom it became him to caress, to endow with liberty, and to fill with insolence. It was upon this judicious plan that his beneficent diplomas were constructed.

"One might see in them, that liberty was become the exclusive privilege of the cherished portion of this people; while arbitrary power displayed itself in its sternest colours against the portion proscribed—a contradiction that might well have embarrassed the patron of the French liberty; but it will easily be perceived, that the right of contradicting oneself was inseparable from the cause of freedom.

"One might remark, that the agriculture which was protected with so much ostentation,

was in reality sacrificed to commerce and manufactures, which were every where emancipated—an inconsistency which might have disconcerted a logician; but it was proved, that the logic of the economists had methods and rules of a transcendent nature.

"One might discover in these diplomas the most flagrant exaggeration of the inconvenience resulting from the old principles, united to an impudent misrepresentation of the advantages attendant on the new doctrine. The motives on the one side and on the other were perfidiously and dishonestly stated; but it was clear that the authors of this system were dispensed from the ordinary rules of ingenuous conduct.

"One could not conceal from oneself, that all society is regulated by opinion; that opinion is the counterpart and ally of direct and open force; that the property, the prerogatives, and the personal safety of every citizen, are under the guard of public opinion; that, of consequence, to weaken this counterbalance of force, is to break the political equilibrium, to subvert the whole system of the state, to wake the slumbering lion, and to point out his prey, a circumstance which seemed to place reason in direct opposition to philosophy. But it was well known, that the economist mission of M. Turgot was consecrated to the cause of the people; and

it had that sublimity about it that overwhelms and subdues the voice of reason.

"In fine, nothing could be more certain than that, as the people could not subsist but from the luxury and superfluities of the great, the severer was the blow that should be given to property, to the arts by which we flourish, and the caprices that give employment to industry, the more would the resources of the laborious and the indigent be annihilated.

"Meanwhile, the parliament felt disquiet, under its old and time-honoured roof; in spite of evidence, a secret anxiety insinuated itself into all minds. The benefit of M. Turgot bore so near a resemblance to a wanton act of authority, that, to secure the felicity he was on the point to bestow, it was necessary to double the guards—cruel parody of an act of beneficence. All was commotion, all was discontent; the honest party was idle enough to believe, that M. Turgot might yet be convinced of his error, and that he was abusing the benevolence of Lewis XVI. The disciples of political prophecy were divided in their opinion; some thought that the sequel would be to re-plunge Turgot and his sect in their original obscurity; others made no scruple to assert, that he would overturn the monarchy and mount himself upon its venerable ruins."

CHAP. XI.

Portrait of M. Turgot, by the Author of these Memoirs—Continuation of the Anecdotes relative to this Minister and to Lewis XVI.—Symptoms of the Downfall of M. Turgot.

THE exterior of M. Turgot was simple and agreeable, and his opinions, principles, and manners, bore a great resemblance to those of his friend, M. de Malesherbes; but with this difference, that the former was impetuous, harsh, severe, and intractable, in the exercise of his systems, and the latter mild, vulnerable, and indulgent.

In large companies, Turgot was timid in his propositions and deportment; but in the cabinet he was firm and daring in his conceptions and plans. He had received the education usually given to young persons of birth, and had devoted himself at a very early age to the concerns of the superior departments of the magistracy. More zealous in the study of the cabinet than in that of the human heart, his skill was rather that of science than the art of understanding and governing mankind. Of the great book of the world he scarcely knew any thing.

Political economy had been his favourite pursuit; and in his fervour to reform that of his country, the energy and vehemence of his mind for the public good made him lose sight of the insurmountable obstacles which lay in his way. Surrounded by the false interpretations and the treachery of courtiers, he did not perceive how much he was a novice at court; and that it was the most dangerous of all errors to undertake a reform which should introduce a government tending to fix justice, humanity, integrity, liberty, and virtue, among the French, in the place of the imperfections they had derived from nature and habits immemorial.

The reforms of M. Turgot were so comprehensive, as in twenty months to introduce more changes into the moralities of administration, than had happened in the fifty-nine years of the reign of Lewis XV.; and his operations of this sort were so various, that at the time of his resignation his only partisans were the people, the economists, and a few philosophers. The parliament remembered with resentment the two beds of justice which had compelled it to support anti-popular principles in regard to the companies and the *corvées*. The bankers and financiers had for twenty months been disconsolate at the re-establishment of order, and the unprofitableness now of their concerns with the court. The court nobility beheld in him the enemy of

pecuniary favours, and a reforming spirit that displeased them. The clergy were sensible of his views in regard to the church. The king's brothers, interested for the establishing and enriching their household, disapproved of his severity. He was disagreeable to the queen; and the king conceived an aversion to him, from the time of being apprised of his project for a general reform of the constitution of the state.

The office which M. Turgot filled, of intendant at Limoges, was that for which he was by nature particularly and perhaps exclusively qualified. His excessive zeal for the interests of the people brought on there no inconvenience. He could not in the heart of his province diffuse democratical opinions; he alleviated the wrongs of the people without injuring the essence of the monarchy by any generally subversive system. He had suppressed the *corvées*, and abolished the remains of ancient servitude at Limoges, without difficulty or tumult. But from the time of his elevation to the office of minister, his plans of reform, extending over the whole surface of France and the mechanism of the constitution, could not but produce very different consequences.

His desire of restoring the old parliaments, and his diplomatic doctrines, which were known to very few, induced M. de Maurepas to call

him to the post of minister. Turgot was the inveterate enemy of the house of Austria, and especially of the alliance contracted with it by France. Maurepas, who was determined to arm himself against the authority of the queen, and to act without constraint as circumstances might require, felt a decided preference for M. Turgot. To these secret reasons some other views were added. Turgot was one of the patriarchs of the doctrine of the economists, who, with other authors of new doctrines, enjoyed high consideration in France. The economists were, besides, the friends and brothers of the philosophers. M. de Maurepas, who was the partisan of the new opinions, found it therefore very convenient to place in the heart of the administration a man who was so decidedly their advocate.

In addition to this, the name of Turgot was very celebrated among the nobility concerned in the administration; a thousand reasons of expediency recommended him to the choice of Maurepas, as a thousand opposite reasons afterwards recommended his disgrace.

The queen detested M. Turgot, and was instrumental in displacing him. She had been informed of his repugnance to the alliance between the houses of France and Austria; and since his death some verses have been

found written by him in a spirit of poignant sarcasm on the hypocritical friendship of the two houses.

From a very early age Turgot had been intimately connected with the abbés Brienne, Boisgelin, Cicé, and Very, the three first of whom have since been remarkable for the philosophical and administrative maxims they introduced among the clergy. Turgot had, notwithstanding, a great aversion to the prelacy; and, though he had studied at St. Sulpice, and in the Sorbonne, he was understood to have impressed the king with notions of tolèrance and infidelity. It was Turgot who had inspired Lewis XVI. with distrust towards the bishops; a distrust which was apparent both at the beginning and in the middle of his reign. It was he who strongly recommended their being removed from the administration; and all the influence of the queen was even necessary to engage him to allow of the archbishop of Toulouse's being admitted into it. Thus hostile to the first order of the state, it was natural that he should feel some apprehensions of their resentment.

MM. Turgot, Maurepas, Vauguyon, and Vergennes, who had enjoyed the first confidences of the king, who had moulded his disposition, and inspired him with a love of

justice, had forgotten to form his character, or to create in him the firmness which results from a respect of one's own opinions. The consequence of this was, that he had no courage to repress the errors and enormities he beheld around him. Hence the indecision, the doubts, and the anxieties of this monarch; and hence the perpetual contradictions between his actions and his opinions.

When it was known at Limoges, in 1774, that Lewis XVI. had called Turgot to the administration, the liveliest affection and regret were manifested by the whole district; yet, while, on the one hand, they repined at the loss of a popular and upright magistrate, on the other, they ardently sympathised in the honours he was called upon to accept. At Versailles, on the contrary, his downfall was spoken of, the sooner to effect its reality. At Versailles, it was a habit to dislike all remonstrances, whether from the parliament or other authority, even though directed against the errors of the court.

M. Turgot, during the period of his government, had rejected all the edicts which tended to oppress the people. He made it a rule to present remonstrances to the king on behalf of the interests of the people confided to him, just

as if the character of an intendant had included in it the unctions of a parliament. He had justly acquired so much esteem and confidence, that government always regarded his representations with deference. The last time he had seen the young king, Lewis XVI., he declared to him, that it was impossible to put into execution an act of government proposed by the abbé Terray. He took his leave of the king, and demanded his dismission. The king did not speak a word, but he recollected it a short time after, when he appointed him minister of the marine.

It was Turgot's opinion, that the expense occasioned by religious worship should be defrayed by those who revered that worship, and that it was unjust to fix this expense at so high a rate as the fifth part of the whole soil of France, which the gallican clergy possessed; he maintained, that the moral instructions of the people should be separated from religious opinions and ceremonies, and that morals derived injury from being joined with religion. M. Turgot was willing to trust to the operation of time for stripping the clergy of their landed estates; taking care, at the same time, to instil into the people just notions of the subject, suffering the present possessors to enjoy their revenue without molestation, substituting annual

incomes in the room of the real estates of the clergy, and gradually abolishing the imposition of tythes, which is levied on the absolute and net produce of the economists. But this reform could not be carried into effect without the interference and authority of popular assemblies.

M. Turgot broached a principle that was destructive of all the established governments in the universe. He said, that he had never found in history a single instance, where, in a republican constitution, which to him appeared preferable to all others, the landholders, in virtue of their landed property, had an exclusive right to enact and execute their own laws. In consequence of this opinion, the establishment of a clergy and of a nobility, in any sort of government, was, in his conception, a vicious institution; and he regarded all states in which these two privileged orders were constituted, as consisting of an insulting aristocracy, depriving the universality of the landholders of their rights. He much esteemed the practice adopted by the federated republics for their external defence, and had long contemplated a project for confederating states of similar language, manners, and customs.

The election of the people to state functions was, according to his plans, the best possible

mode of introducing them to public affairs. The choice of the king was an imperfect and vicious mode: he wished to see assemblies owe their existence and their power to the inclinations and choice of the people, and not to the presidency of the king's agent. He had no doubt in his mind the idea of that regal democracy, which, in the space of a few months before the 10th of August, under the eye of France and all Europe, effected its own dissolution.

There was a considerable and singular analogy between the morals of the king and the opinions of M. Turgot.

There was also a similar analogy between the opinions of the king and the morals of M. Turgot.

The political opinions of the king were very different from those of M. Turgot. They were bounded by the desire of encouraging and protecting justice and integrity, and by a manifestation of attention and zeal for the good of the people.

Thus the king had reduced to practice the tendency of M. Turgot's political doctrine; while the political opinions of M. Turgot, on the contrary, operated towards the overthrow of state forms, in order to arrive at the moral and political improvements he had in view.

As a further statement of the analogy above mentioned, it may be said, that the king, in his individual person, possessed the moral perfection which was to be the result of the political theory of his minister.

This minister had summoned to his department all the austerities introduced by the jansenists into the theory of morals. He was to the class of intendants and masters of requests, what Lewis XVI. was to contemporary kings and to his courtiers. So that Turgot, with his jansenism, his equity, his invulnerable morals, his probity, and his candour, was become so much an alien from the court, the clergy, the state nobility, and the prevailing systems of his time, that nothing more was necessary for his overthrow than the buffooneries and intrigues of the merest subaltern: and accordingly M. de Maurepas threw this minister into the hands of M. d'Amecourt, counsellor of the parliament. His virtue was abandoned to the projects of a contemptible and intriguing subaltern: it was exposed and canvassed for public amusement, and there appeared strong indications of the approach of Turgot's downfall. This d'Amecourt was one of those personages, who, without any decided character, are ambitious of office, ready in developing the sentiments and motives of parties, veering from

one faction to another; by his own mouth, or that of his creatures, decrying either, as occasion demanded; and giving up his time to demireps and harridans. The better to effect his purposes, he curried favour with the first presidents, drew up for them their speeches for public occasions, composed their interrogations, and dictated their answers. He agitated the whole parliament against Turgot; and, as this conduct rendered him odious to the party of M. de Choiseul, who has drawn his portrait in his Memoirs, and also to that of the dauphin, who privately employed him, he was spurned and despised during the reign of Lewis XVI., and at length unmasked in 1792, in the Memoirs of M. de Choiseul, and those of the duke of Aiguillon, which then appeared for the first time. M. d'Amecourt hawked about in 1776 the pamphlet entitled *the Turgotine Prophecy*, or *the Three Marys*, a gratuitous insult to three respectable women, the duchess of Enville, madame Blondel, and madame Marchais, since married to M. d'Angevillers, sister to M. de la Borde, and widow of Marchais, valet-de-chambre to Lewis XV. These three ladies have had the courage to remain in France during the emigration.

CHAP. XII.

Doctrine of M. Turgot on Administration, and Passages from his Memoirs on Provincial Administrations, underlined or marked with a Cross by Lewis XVI.—His Doctrine in regard to landed Proprietors, and the Territorial Tax—His plan for renovating France, in November 1775.

"EVERY one," said M. Turgot, "seeks to deceive the government, and to throw the pecuniary burdens of the social state upon his neighbours. They conceal their incomes, which can no longer be ascertained but in a very imperfect manner, and by a sort of inquisition, which would make your majesty appear in a state of war with your people.

"Considering that the debts which the different towns have incurred on their own account are, according to the present system, liquidated by a species of grant injurious to commerce, to the natural distribution of property, and to the revenues of the state, I conceive it to be necessary to suppress these grants.

"You have been, sire, frequently obliged to

exert yourself to keep down that sort of temper, which is at present characteristic of the towns, and which inspires the constituted authorities that govern them. Your majesty cannot be unaware of the necessity, even for the sake of public tranquillity, of substituting in the room of this disorderly and exclusive spirit, a spirit of union, peace, and mutual kindness. This affords a reason for reforming the existing municipalities of the towns, though it should not lead to the establishing of municipalities in the different villages.

"The source of the evil, sire, is to be found in this single circumstance, that the French people are destitute of a constitution. They are a society composed of different orders, with no band of union; a nation, the members of which have little of the necessary and wholesome action and re-action.

"You are forced, for the most part, to decide individual cases by the direct interference of authority, at the same time that you ought to govern, like the creator of the world, by general laws; and that you would do so, if the integral parts of your empire had a common organisation and unequivocal relation to each other.

"We have no public spirit among us, because your subjects possess no common, visible, and acknowledged interest.

" To extirpate the spirit of disunion, which multiplies tenfold the labour of your majesty's servants, as well as restrains your own power and prerogative, and to substitute in the room of this a spirit of order and union, which shall make the wealth and the strength of your people concur to the public good, which shall place the reins of power truly in your hands, and render them easy to direct, it is necessary to discover a plan which may bind them together by an evident public interest, by the necessity of perceiving this interest, of deliberating upon, and of conforming to it, which may bind individuals to their families, families to the villages or towns they inhabit, towns and villages to the district that includes them, districts to provinces, and provinces to the whole.

" The first and most important of all institutions, which seems to me the most proper to immortalise your majesty's reign, and which will produce the happiest effect upon the nation at large, is the formation of a council of national education, under whose superintendance should be placed all academies, universities, and colleges, as well as the ordinary schools.

" There are establishments and contrivances for the formation of geometricians and natural philosophers: there are none for the formation of citizens.

"I can imagine nothing more generally advantageous to your people, or better fitted to maintain public peace and good order, to put all useful works into a state of activity, to endear your authority, and to bind to you more closely than ever the hearts of your subjects, than to cause to be communicated to them all such instruction as shall manifest to them the obligations under which they are placed to society in general, and to the power that protects them; the duties which these obligations prescribe, and the interest they have in fulfilling these duties for the public good and for their own. This moral and social instruction demands a set of books to be written for that express purpose, and a schoolmaster in each parish, who, at the same time that he inculcates these lessons, may instruct the children in the rudiments of writing, accounts, land-surveying, and the first principles of practical mathematics. The higher branches of education, which may progressively embrace the sciences useful to such members of the state as are intended for more important and elevated situations, should be given in colleges; but still in prosecution of the same principles, more fully unfolded in proportion to the demand and the rank of each. If your majesty feels the importance of this proposal, I will place the full detail of the particulars under

your inspection. In ten years the nation will not be the same; it will be infinitely more virtuous and enlightened than any other nation which exists, or ever did exist.

The labourers of the province of Limousin come to build houses at Paris, the peasantry of Auvergne sweep the chimneys in Spain, through the whole kingdom; it is from that class of rustics who are not possessors of land that we recruit our valets, a great part of our armies, and the body of our laborious artificers, who always carry their talents to the place where they think they may be turned to the best account, whether within or out of the kingdom. In vain do we endeavour to attach them to one place rather than another; they are as active as the legs that carry them, and never remain in any spot which they do not find adapted to their purpose. No minister has ever attempted to prevent the emigration of artificers without being baffled in his hopes. Unfortunately, the man who owns no land can be bound to no country, but by the link of sentiment or of judgment: necessity has no power over him. It is not so with the landed proprietor; he is attached to the soil, and interested in the affairs of his country. A landed property instantly places a man in the

class of those that pay, instead of the class of those who receive wages from the community. It is thus that land, binding its possessor to the state, constitutes the true basis of citizenship. To him who has no landed property, the rights of that character cannot be conceded.

" The individual, whose landed estate is not adequate to the subsistence of his family, ought not to claim as a landholder the right of a vote in public affairs.

" The nobility are exempted from the land tax and the accessary imposts. The clergy are exempted from the poll-tax and the *vingtième*, which they are allowed to supply by voluntary contributions, but which fall far short of being in proportion to their revenues. The consequence of this is, that the sum-total of taxes, which, if equally levied, would be moderate, is, on the contrary, insupportably burdensome.

" Your majesty's predecessors were actuated by avarice, which assumed the semblance and pretensions of dignity, when they established such a multitude of taxes on all articles of commerce and consumption.

" In the spirit of administering relief to the people, it would be easy to introduce certain modifications of the taxes, which must necessarily be less oppressive and inimical to the

whole nation, to the power and authority of your majesty, and to the loyalty and affection of your subjects. This is a work which heaven, in its beneficence, has reserved for your majesty.

" We rely that the well-known goodness of your majesty will anticipate this happy period, by conferring benefits on the people.

" The great municipality of the kingdom, sire, will complete the system of municipalities, and, in your majesty's hands, become the repository in which may be drawn, to one point, the remote and corresponding interests of your people. This repository will be sometimes honoured by your majesty's presence, you will assist in its deliberations, and issue the necessary orders.

" All this may be done in the course of the present year and the commencement of the next; but it cannot take place till the beginning of October, when the result of the harvests will be well known.... The general assembly, composed of provincial deputies, may be opened early in November.

" After a few years, your majesty will be the sovereign of a new and pre-eminent people."

CHAP. XIII.

Sequel of the Administration of M. Turgot—System of the general Municipalisation of the Kingdom proposed by this Minister—Assemblies of the Towns, and of the Provinces.—National Assembly—Their Democratical Organisation—Exclusion of the Clergy, of the Nobility, and of the Non-Proprietors.—Spontaneous Revolution, conceived by Turgot, at the End of the Year 1776.

OF all M. Turgot's operations, none was more remarkable, or less known, than that of the revolution he proposed to effect in France. It was a source of great vexation to the king, and the more so, as he considered, that it was the doctrine of the economists that prepared its existence. Let us observe the language and marginal notes of Lewis XVI., written by his own hand, on Turgot's memorial.

To understand if it be expedient to establish municipalities, says Turgot's memorial, if it be necessary to perfect or change those that already exists, and in what manner to constitute such as may be deemed requisite, it is not sufficient to investigate the origin of municipal administrations. It has been too much the custom, in

matters of seriousness, to examine the examples given us by our ancestors, in times which we acknowledge to have been remarkable for ignorance and barbarity. This practice tends to disgust princes with their most important functions, by persuading them, that, to acquit themselves with credit and advantage, they must possess consummate talents.

Remark of LEWIS XVI.—" Great talents are not necessary to perceive that the present memorial is intended to establish a new form of government in France, and to decry the ancient institutions, which the author supposes to have been the work of ignorant and barbarous ages; as if the reigns of my three last predecessors could be classed by a just and reasonable mind among those of barbarous times, or as if my kingdom did not owe to those three reigns the consideration and place it occupies in Europe. Europe will not be easily persuaded that those reigns were reigns of barbarity and ignorance; but she will, without hesitation, acknowledge, that to those three reigns she is in a great degree indebted for the state of civilisation she at this moment enjoys."

Sire, continues Turgot, you have it in your power, like the deity, to govern by general laws, provided the integral parts of your empire

have a *regular* organisation and unequivocal relations to each other.

Remark of LEWIS XVI.—" The very contrary is more probable: if the organisation of my provinces were every where similar, it would be the means of my not being obeyed at all, or of my being ill obeyed; it would be more difficult to move at the same moment a complicated mass, than, like my ancestors, to move it through the medium of intendants and palatine provinces."

The cause of this evil, sire, said Turgot, is, that your nation has no constitution.

Remark of LEWIS XVI.—" This, I perceive, is the cause of M. Turgot's disapprobation. The lovers of innovation require even more than an English France."

Some of your provinces however, said Turgot, possess a constitution, assemblies, and a sort of public suffrage. These are called the palatine provinces; but being composed of orders whose pretensions are very extended, and whose interests are very independent of each other, as well as of the nation, these states fall very short of producing the desired advantages to the provinces in whose administration they assist. It is in your majesty's power to give to the provinces which have no constitution, a constitu-

tion better organised than that so proudly vaunted by the palatine provinces. A plan should be conceived that should bind individuals to their families, families to their villages, villages and towns to their districs, districts to provinces, and provinces to the state.

Remark of Lewis XVI.—" It is apparent, that M. Turgot is an enemy to the variety of orders that compose the state-provinces, and to the gradations of their assemblies, which protect the fortune and the honours of different individuals, and form the gradation of my subjects, without which monarchy can no where exist. M. Turgot proposes a graduated scale of powers; but such a scale cannot but be chimerical, unless a gradation of birth were its basis. The same may be said of all monarchies, ancient or modern, and of most republics."

The freedom of cities, and a vote in parish meetings, cannot, said Turgot, be legally granted to any but landholders.

Remark of Lewis XVI.—" This is the very way to introduce discontent into the class of non-proprietors; and if the first are allowed to assemble, it will be a source of discord."

I shall propose to your majesty, said Turgot, not to grant a power of voting, except to landed proprietors possessing an income of six hundred

livres. He who should have but one hundred livres, would be but the sixth part of a citizen.

Remark of LEWIS XVI.—"To divide into parts the right of a man in a political assembly, according to the dimensions of his fortune, is an idea so entirely new, and presents itself to our minds as a project so extremely singular and extravagant, that it would be incompatible with the dignity of the state to propose it for adoption."

The provincial assembly, said Turgot, would be composed of deputies from the municipal assemblies, for the purpose of assessing in their districts the sums to be paid.

Remark of LEWIS XVI.—"This operation is effected by means of the intendants sent by the king, and by the three orders in the state-provinces. The composition of the three orders is too essentially connected with the privileges of Frenchmen, and the mission of the intendants is too closely concerned with royal authority, to allow of their being metamorphosed into deputies of the people; which, with a few exceptions, would be to overturn completely the established order, and the administration in general of the state-provinces. That of the intendants, with the exception of certain abuses, is the best administered branch of the national

government. It is certainly not in that quarter that the state is eminently defective."

The great municipality, sire, the municipality general of the kingdom, would complete the establishment of the first municipalities, and in the hands of your majesty will become the point of union to all the other municipalities in your kingdom. This general municipality would be composed of deputies from each provincial assembly, each of the deputies being permitted to have a coadjutor occasionally to supply his place. Your majesty would declare, by your minister of finances, the amount of the sums to be supplied by the provinces for the expenditure of the state.

Remarks of LEWIS XVI.—"This would perhaps be the means of being baffled in the principal object. My parliament have been in the habit of yielding to every thing that is demanded of them, when it bears only upon the people at large. They are in the habit of refusing every thing, and of submitting to hardship and exile, when any revenue is required to their individual detriment. Were I to call together the landholders of my kingdom, and to require them to assess themselves, this would be the very way to excite them to oppose the revenue demanded. Abbé Terray clearly found, that one is never sure of carrying a tax into effect, unless

when it is to be imposed by the party that pays no part of it, or that pays a very small part of it. The idea of giving existence to perpetual states general is subversive of the monarchy, which is only absolute, because its authority does not admit of a partner. The instant such an assembly shall have commenced, there will no longer be any intermediate agency between the king and the nation, but that of an army; and it is a horrible and painful extremity to entrust to an army the defending the authority of the state against the assembly of the French people. The system of M. Turgot is a beautiful vision, it is the utopia of an individual, projected by a man who has excellent views, but which would overturn the present state of France. The ideas of M. Turgot are extremely dangerous, and ought to alarm us by their novelty."

All this, said M. Turgot, may be done in the present year, and the beginning of the subsequent; but it cannot be till the early part of October, when the harvests have already been fully ascertained, that the municipal elective assemblies can be held.

Remark of Lewis XVI.—" We have here a new France, rapidly regenerated, organised, and assembled; but in the mean time, the old

France, to wit, the old hereditary families, the parliaments, the provincial states, the sheriffs, the mayors, the capitals, will, perhaps, hold their assemblies on the other part, proclaim their discontent, and ask what are the crimes by which they have forfeited their established situation."

At the end of a few years, your majesty will have a new people, the first in the universe.

Remark of LEWIS XVI.—"Certainly there would be established in France assemblies of a very new character; for the rights of the land-holder, uniting under one head the rights of birth and condition, the ancient forms of the monarchy would be abolished, and a scheme, hazardous and untried, would succeed."

In lieu, said M. Turgot, of the corruption, the meanness, the intriguing, and the grasping spirit which your majesty has hitherto witnessed, you would be struck on all hands with the spectacle of virtue, disinterestedness, integrity, and zeal.

Remarks of LEWIS XVI.—"I know not whether France, administered by the representatives of the people, and by her richest inhabitants, would be more virtuous than she is, being administered by those who derive their claim from their birth, or the nomination of their sovereign. I find in the series of admi-

nistrators, nominated by my ancestors, and in the principal families of the law, and even of the financial department, Frenchmen who would have done honour to any nation of the known world. The passage from the established *régime*, to the *régime* proposed by M. Turgot, deserves a very critical attention. We see what is, but have a very imperfect view of what may be; and dangerous enterprises ought not to be hazarded, till we see very clearly the point to which they will lead us.—(Feb. 15, 1788*.)"

* The date of the observations of Lewis XVI., and that of the resignation of M. Turgot, are distant from each other. I place, nevertheless, the answers of the king contiguous to the memorial of the minister, and under the same year, as being more conformable to chronology, and that persons, who study the progress of the revolutionary spirit, may have combined under one view, the materials which may most effectually lead them in the direction that nature herself has delineated.

CHAP. XIV.

Downfall of M. Turgot—Enumeration and Classification of his Enemies in France—The King, the Ministry, the Dignitaries of the Church, the Court, the Nobility, the Parliaments, the higher Classes of the Citizens, all declare against him—His remaining Friends are only Individuals.—Portrait of the Economists.—Distinction between the Deist Philosophers, and the Atheist Philosophers—Character of this Distinction.

M. TURGOT, arrived at the moment when all classes of the French declared themselves averse to his doctrine and reformations, perceived the necessity of retiring from administration. This was the consequence of the profundity of his plans, which embraced the analysis and new casting of the old institutions.

The following is the singular enumeration of his enemies.

The king, from the moment he was sensible that his project was a democratic revolution, withdrew his confidence, and tried to find means of dismissing him without rumour.

In the ministry, M. de Maurepas, who had vowed his destruction, raised against him all the opinions contrary to Turgot's doctrine; and M.

de Vergennes represented him incessantly to the king, as a personage whom it was dangerous to retain in the state. M. de Malesherbes, foreseeing the event of a catastrophe, had retired a few days before.

The clergy disliked in him the enemy of their wealth, their morals, their doctrine, and their institutions. Turgot, on his part, maintained that the clergy was an expensive and useless member of the state.

The parliament, in the space of twenty months, had endured the calling of two beds of justice, and, besides, had played a part contrary to its principles and moralities, in its remonstrances against him. The parliaments derived their reputation, credit, and strength, from the nature of their principles, and from their popular representations against the military maxims of the court: but under M. Turgot, the magistracy had been constantly obliged to lose sight of their popular character, to support the *corvées* and the companies, however prejudicial to liberty and to the public favour they enjoyed. The popularity introduced into administration, annihilating the natural popularity of the parliament, was a singular and extraordinary state incident; and, accordingly, it was afterwards remarked by the friends of Turgot and of the economists, that the parliaments had never made any representa-

tions to the king, but with a view *to their own interests;* which, in many respects, appears to be true.

Parliament had given a proof of this in the month of March 1776, by condemning a work on feudal rights, which was in great circulation. It had been composed by a disciple of M. Turgot, and exhibited his doctrine in regard to feudal tenures, which he wished to extirpate. The parliament pronounced, that this work was injurious to the laws, to the customs of France, to the rights of the crown, to private property, and to the French constitution and monarchy. M. Seguier, declaiming on this occasion against the economists, called them, in his prosecution, *disturbers of the state,* who meditated its destruction. M. d'Amécourt, counsellor of the parliament, hawked about the pamphlet entitled *the TurgotineProphecy,* written against the doctrine of the economists. Thus the parliament had been incessantly thwarted, both in its principles and its interests, by M. Turgot, who, at court, was playing the part, not of a minister of the monarchy, but of a counsellor of parliament; and which, in its turn, played the part of a minister of Lewis XVI., supporting, in its remonstrances, the principles and forms of the established government. In the ministry, Turgot attacked the government. The opposition de-

fended it. This mechanism, considering the manners of the times, was an extraordinary phænomenon. Governments, which degrade themselves, disunite their powers, and adulterate their principles, are merely the governments of a day. A succession of ages is necessary to constitute a state; and such a state may be annihilated by the errors of a few years.

On the same principle, the nobility were exasperated at the plans of Turgot. They united with the clergy, for the purpose of preventing his project of a doomsday book, which would naturally strike at the root of the privileges and exemptions from taxes they now enjoyed, and was an enterprise, the bare attempt at which had already ruined such ministers as had dared to enter upon it. The citizens, offended at the protection extended by Turgot to workmen and to the people, the dealers, the artists, the masters of different trades, accustomed to command their journeymen, could scarcely credit that he had dared to raise them to masters: they regarded the companies and corporations as the institution of liberty, and the alleviation and metamorphosis of the journeymen as a disorderly operation, tending to subvert commerce, and annihilate speculation in France. They maintained, that the people and workmen would always be the people and workmen, because they possessed

neither instruction, the genius of commerce, nor skilful management, whether of gain or accumulation; while on the other hand, industry, a capacity to lend money, and an upright conduct, were evinced in the persons of masters, speculators, and possessors of property. They added, that the revolution of M. Turgot was a conspiracy against the actual flourishing state of society in France, and against its commerce and arts.

At the same time, M. de Sartines accused Turgot of being in league with England, and of being instigated by her to subvert the industry and social institutions of France, under the pretext of reformation.

The moment was then arrived when M. Turgot found himself in open opposition with the king, with ministers, with the clergy, with the courtiers, with the nobility, with the citizens, with the masters, and with the traders. His unprecedented territorial tax raised against him a legion of clerks, established for the security of the various existing taxes, and the whole monarchy was in a state of insurrection against his ministry. Such was the result of the audacious enterprise, which had changed the opposition into partisans of government, and partisans of government into opposition.

But at this period there still remained in

France a great number of highly respectable personages, who were his friends and partisans, as well as the economists and the philosophers, who regarded him as their patriarch. It may be necessary to describe the shades of difference by which these sects are distinguish d.

Among all the parties, and, we may add, all the sects, there was none which, in purity of views and intention, surpassed the economists; and no doubt it was owing to the means it employed, that it did not succeed in its attempt to reform the state. Its leaders had always been good patriots; the sect was not respectable in its origin, but its merits had wiped away this disgrace. Madame de Pompadour, who took great notice of artists, of the new philosophers, and of the enemies of the jesuits, had conceived a friendship for doctor Quesnay, who had, as it were, formed the sect in his own apartments. But Quesnay was an intelligent and upright man. The economist Mirabeau, his colleague, author of *l'Ami des Hommes*, father to Mirabeau the revolutionist, was singular and austere in domestic life, but an upright citizen. M. Turgot, who, during his intendance, had proved his economical and democratical systems, was probity itself; and, in the number and variety of enemies I have mentioned, none was found who dared to attack the purity of his intentions.

His suspected connexion with England, more profound and skilful than he, was not of a criminal nature. All the philosophers of France showed a desire to be connected by ties of philanthropy with the enlightened men of that nation, the mother of modern philosophy. Devaïsne and Abeille were equally distinguished, as men of integrity and as administrators. The celebrated Dupont de Nemours, so well known to us in our different legislatures, is a citizen of similar uprightness. The abbés Roubeau, Morelet, Rozier, were deficient neither in talents nor in zeal for their country. The views of Condorcet were perhaps less pure, at least the furious proceedings of this philosopher against Lewis XVI. has that appearance; but certainly the majority of the economists ought to be considered as good patriots, and as having regarded the dismissal of Turgot as a national calamity.

In the republic of letters, the encyclopedists, who, in regard to religion, were unbelievers, beheld him with great satisfaction in the cabinet. These should be divided into two sections, *the atheist encyclopedists, and the deist encyclopedists.*

The atheist party were passionately devoted to M. Turgot; he was their protecting and tutelary divinity. I have observed moralities in atheists of deep reflexion, that I have in vain

looked for among deists. The atheists of Condorcet and Turgot's party, were ,to philosophy what to the catholic religion were the jansenists. They all idolised M. Turgot, and devoted themselves to him exclusively. But it is impossible to describe the furious animosity of Condorcet against Necker, or the attachment with which he devoted himself to Turgot; nor can any thing be comparable to the versatility of the political and deistical philosophers, who indistinctively surrendered themselves to Necker or Turgot, as occasion required.

It must not, however, be understood, that at this time Turgot, whose only friends were among the philosophers and the people, possessed either of them entirely. Of the latter he retained only a certain portion, and of the philosophers only such as were unbelievers were systematically and exclusively his partisans.

But at the same time there were individuals among all ranks and all parties, who revered his doctrine, and whose fidelity and attachment were remarkable. Among the great, the benevolent la Rochefoucault, who, as well as the duchess of Enville, from motives of attachment to him, confined themselves to the society of men of study; among the courtiers, the Blondels, the Trudaines, &c.; among men of science, the abbés Bossut, Desmarets, &c.; among the

clergy, the Boisgelins, the Cicés, &c., were his friends, and the admirers of his virtues. The abbé Fauchet, chaplain to the king, acquired, on Turgot's account, the reputation of a daring intrepidity of spirit, having ventured to bestow praises from the pulpit both on his principles and his administration, and which caused his being suspended by M. de Beaumont, archbishop of Paris.

In short, party spirit at this time ran so high, that snuff-boxes, of a form perfectly flat, in derision of the minister, were invented and generally worn, and were called *platitudes* or *turgotines*.

We now then behold M. Turgot with only a few remaining individuals for friends and partisans. On the 30th of April, 1776, he wrote thus to the king: "The decided combination of all parties against me, the complete desertion I have experienced, the well-known enmity of M. de Miroménil, his influence on M. de Maurepas, effectually convince me, that my cause is supported but by a single thread." At this period all interests and all factions at court, the nobility, the clergy, the parliament, the republic of letters, the whole social body was in arms against him. Thus abandoned, his character visibly became impatient and irritable. In his last letters to the king he is harsh and imperious,

and his counsels to the prince are in the tone and language of command. He was sensible, that the individuals who had proclaimed him the *Solon of France* were unable to balance the animosity of the numbers who were his persecutors; and, in his letters to the king, he exposes some truths, and gives a loose to invective and sarcasm, against the most powerful and violent of his enemies, against courtiers, against those false and reserved men, who, for the sake of injuring him with the king, abandoned, for a moment, even the natural timidity of their character. It was at this conjuncture, that one of his letters to Lewis XVI. contained a truth of terrible and solemn import. He remarked to this young prince, who was naturally of a timid temper, as I have already observed in vol. II. page 42, "that the fate of all weak princes would be that of Charles I., or of Charles IX." One might almost conclude, that this passage was the secret article of Turgot's plans for democratic municipalities, were it not for the conviction, that, in 1793, he would have defended the monarch, at the hazard of his life, as his friend, who survived him, M. de Malesherbes did; and were it not apparent, that he wished to see a revolution without the shedding of blood. In 1776, however, Turgot conceived that no medium could be observed. He as-

serted implicitly, that Lewis XVI. ought to seize the carbine and the poniard of Charles IX., and exterminate philosophy, which, as well as the protestants, demanded reform; or if the king refused reform, that he should submit to the destiny of Charles I. Cruel alternative, of which the two cases have been attempted with systematic perseverance. The first case did not succeed on the evening preceding the 14th of July. The second caused, on the 21st of January, 1793, the death of a prince whose reign was regretted by the French, when they fell under the empire of the sanguinary faction which immediately succeeded to his timid, feeble, and flexible government.

M. de Maurepas, who, with his usual address, directed the affair of Turgot's disgrace, wrote this minister a letter of condolence on the day of his leaving the administration. Turgot replied, "I retire without reproaching myself with *weakness*, *imposture*, or *dissimulation*." Turgot intended this as a lesson of reproof to Maurepas, who was a veteran in the practice of these vices, and through them had preserved his post, while Turgot was expelled for possessing the opposite virtues. M. de Clugny, successor to Turgot, re-established almost every thing that the latter had abolished, and abolished every thing that he had instituted. The king declared in the preamble

to the contradictory edicts, that he had *in his wisdom* thought it necessary to bestow particular attention on the representations of his courts, in regard to the inconveniences of which the edicts were susceptible.

Thus, in this revolution, the king demonstrated, that there existed no connected plan in the French government; he exposed to all Europe, that the helm of the state, under a prince of this character, and under the feeble Maurepas, might be successfully seized by any man of sufficient genius and courage to make the attempt, or by any foreign power who should have the address to establish in the court a creature of its own. Mr. Necker, however, who aspired to the direction of the finances, was not appointed to that office. The clergy had taken their ground, and their repinings and discontent produced a general apprehension. They had had the influence and the address to raise M. de Sartines to a cabinet appointment. They were not less able to contravene the elevation of a protestant who already aspired to a ministerial office. The hesitation of the government, under these circumstances, proves to what a degree it was embarrassed, weak, and undetermined.

The finances, after the retreat of M. Turgot, continued to experience the most violent agitations. The whole year, 1776, was a series of

perpelxity and disorder. Six persons, one after the other, had the direction of this department, and only established in it a greater confusion. Turgot was comptroller-general till the month of May; Bertin succeeded him in the same office. M. de Maurepas presided in the council of the finances in the month of June; and on the 21st of that month, M. de Clugny was nominated to the direction. Taboureau became comptroller-general on the 22d of October, and on the 23d Mr. Necker was appointed his associate.

What was afterwards the result of the quarrels and ill blood of the court, the nobility, the convocation of the clergy, and the parliaments; who precipitated, from the pinnacle of power, atheism and democracy in the person of Turgot? Philosophy, democracy, and economism, which had not been able to preserve a minister, so thoroughly strengthened themselves in 1789, and so successfully associated their displeasure with the resentment of others, that they took, so to express it, the monarchy of Lewis XVI. by assault. The democratical memorial of M. Turgot was then carried into literal execution; with this difference, that Turgot wished to effect his revolution without bloodshed, while, under the heirs of his system, Lewis XVI.,

like Charles I., lost his head upon a scaffold. Thus was consummated the strange menace of M. Turgot, that the destiny of Lewis XVI., guided by courtiers, would be similar to that of Charles I., or Charles IX.

CHAP. XV.

Fall of M. St. Germain—He gives a Portrait of himself after his Retreat—He explains his Views and Designs.—Maurepas, as painted by M. St. Germain.—Portrait of the King.—Excuses of M. St. Germain relatively to his Innovations and Reforms.

MESSRS. Turgot and St. Germain, statesmen of the class of reformers, have left behind them the apology of their conduct; it would be unjust and cruel to suppress it. M. de Malesherbes, on the contrary, has recorded his confession and his penitence. I will recite his pathetic expressions. M. de St. Germain, in my memoirs, appears sometimes with an extravagance bordering on madness. I am bound for once to let him tell his own story, and speak for himself.

"The court of Fontainebleau was crouded with nobility and courtiers," says St. Germain, "when I appeared there to accept the office which the king had confided to me; and never, I may venture to affirm, did any one experience in his favour a greater unanimity of suffrages. My thirst for the approbation of others was

completely gratified; but the composure and firmness of my temper were not disturbed. I was wholly a stranger to every one of the king's ministers, and most of all to the count de Maurepas. But to judge from what I have heard of his character since my retreat, he was allowed to be a man of a pleasant turn of mind, a quick and ready conception, a memory from which nothing escaped, a peculiar talent in seizing the true point of affairs, together with much grace and dexterity in the management of them. His temper inclined him to beneficence and indulgence; but he was light, capricious, and capable of sacrificing the most important interests to a witticism. He possessed many of the qualities and virtues of a genuine statesman; but the greater part of these advantages were rendered entirely fruitless by the frivolity of his character.

"In the first conference I held with him, I was immediately led to perceive the dark shades of his disposition: had I yielded to the first suggestions of my mind, I should instantly have demanded of the king permission to return to my hermitage; but some friends, to whom I opened my griefs, dissuaded me; they convinced me, that, by this step, I should only confirm the sentiment already entertained of me, that I was a man of an unstable and inconstant character.

They flattered me, that the character of the king, his fortitude, his frankness, his love of justice, and his aversion to intrigue, would support me in spite of the indifference and levity of M. de Maurepas. I yielded myself to the hopes they suggested, and the more as, in my official conferences with the prince, I always found in him the most distinguished sweetness of temper: every impulse of his soul pointed towards the ends of justice and beneficence: he breathed no sentiments but those of virtue and general good.

"From the love of such a sovereign, I gave myself up wholly to the plans of reform which belonged to my department. I was thwarted even by those whom I entrusted with the secret and the execution of my designs. Thus circumstanced, I consulted a superior military officer respecting the means of carrying into effect what I had undertaken. In concert with him I divided my whole system into successive operations; some had for their end the diminution of the public expenditure; others the abolition of the corps of body-guards, that for a long time had become equally burdensome and useless. I determined therefore to reduce the four companies of this establishment to the number immediately necessary for the guard of the sovereign, and this I fixed at a hundred men to

each company, without including the officers and five and twenty supernumeraries. I determined at the same time entirely to supersede the horse-grenadiers, the companies of the *gendarmes*, the light-horse and the musqueteers, as well as the *gendarmerie*; the incorporation of the thirty companies of the corps of carbineers into the thirty regiments of cavalry; the legionary soldiers in the dragoons, with the redemption of their appointments, to be completed in fifteen years*.

"I had also conceived a plan for a succession of other reforms (these related to objects unconnected with this work, the military constitution, commodities, military hospitals), and for the establishment of a council of war; but the court had no sooner learned the detail of my plans, than clamours arose in every quarter,

* It was the most injudicious measure that could have been conceived. M. St. Germain, while he reduced two squadrons, or the amount of two squadrons, contrived, without suspecting what he did, to give to the captains, whose pay had amounted to thirty thousand livres per annum, a revenue of more than seventy thousand. At the same time that, for the sum of five hundred thousand livres, at which each man had purchased, they had brevets of compensation. As to the abolition of the horse-grenadiers, that corps, so incomparable in its valour and the perfection of its discipline, deserves extremely to be regretted.—*Marginal note affixed to the memoir of St. Germain, by the count de Rochefort.*

which obliged me to abandon a part of them. The hopes of courtiers revived as soon as they found what I had conceded in favour of the light-horse and the body-guards, and manœuvres were redoubled to gain still another point, the preservation of the carbineers, and of the *gendarmerie*; it was represented to the king, that the measure, instead of being a medium of economy, was an object of expense to the amount of more than four millions in the redemption of the appointments. Thus I was obliged to temporise.

"Besides this, great pains were taken to give the king unfavourable impressions of me, the effects of which I soon experienced. The abuse and inutility of the superior cavalry appointments had long been universally acknowledged, and particularly that of the staff; and there was not an enlightened military man in France who did not urge the necessity of their suppression. This object formed a part of my general plan, but I missed the proper moment. When I mentioned it to the king, I perceived, by the objections of his majesty, that the intrigues of the courtiers had prepared him to give a negative to the measure. He observed, that, in a great kingdom like his, it was necessary to have splendid favours to bestow, to attach and

maintain the fidelity of the great*; as if, before the creation of these abusive appointments, the French *noblesse* were defective in this point.

"I was not deterred by this objection from laying before the king a digested memorial upon the necessity of this suppression. The king scarcely deigned to cast his eye upon it; he returned it to me, and became only more pertinacious in his opposition. He merely said to me, that the offices might be preserved, and their inconveniences counteracted. On this hint I founded some hopes. I caused an ordinance to be drawn up, so conceived as to strike at the root of the abuses. The king examined, approved, and allowed it to be printed; but on the day of publication his majesty ordered me to put a stop to the proceeding, and suppressed the edict by direct authority†.

"Humbled as I found myself by so many counteractions, I yet in no degree remitted my industry. The ordinances, carrying into effect the various reductions which the king had approved, were drawn up, but the whole world seemed

* The operations of Turgot, Malesherbes, and St. Germain, concurred in their tendency to weaken this attachment, and subvert this loyalty.

† We here see that Lewis XVI. sometimes forgot his timidity and reserve.

fatally to misapprehend, or maliciously to misconstrue them. Question after question was proposed to me, with the design of drawing from me explanations which might afford my enemies advantage against me. Unfortunately, a distinction has been introduced into France between the nobility of the capital, and the nobility, commonly more worthy of esteem, of the provinces, between the wealthy and the poorer branch; so that the one obtains every thing without deserving it, and the other can acquire nothing, however distinguished may be their merit. It is from the corps of colonels that the body of general officers ought to be chosen. If colonels be appointed without judgment, the general officers must be bad; and while this pernicious and illiberal distinction prevails between the provincial and the city nobility, it will be almost impossible to have our general officers such as they ought to be. I abandoned the selection of them to the prince of Montbarrey, who, having been for a long time inspector of the army, was better qualified, I conceived, for the business than myself. His conduct, however, has been universally condemned.

"My plan of arrangement for invalids excited the hatred of the ignorant and prejudiced. The terms *injustice* and *barbarity*

resounded from all sides, without, however, the pains of an examination, and while it cost the king immense sums of money to keep those veterans in opprobrium and misfortune. My plan failed. I wished to annihilate what was a monument rather of the vanity than the beneficence of Lewis XIV. My intention was to form thirty-six establishments for military recompences in the thirty-six principal governments, under the inspection and authority of the commandant of the provinces. In thus providing for the support of a more considerable number of invalids, I should have procured our brave old soldiers the comfort of living in the bosom of their families; but for the execution of so vast a plan, it was necessary to have more tranquillity of mind, and fewer enemies of public benefit to contend with.

"I now require of the persons who read this memorial dispassionately to reflect on the details it contains. Is there one man of sense who will not allow, that, in spite of the numerous faults I have committed, I have nevertheless procured for France the best military constitution she has possessed during the existence of the monarchy? and that, *from its uniformity*, its members being so constituted as to appear as if cast in one mould, which, to order, sim-

plicity, and discipline, is a manifest advantage, it is superior to all other ,systems in Europe*?"

* This is precisely what was desired by the evil genius of the old government to effect the sudden metamorphosis of a royal army into a revolutionary army. Variety in the constitution, manners, usages, and privileges, might have established a variety of opinions in this respect, whereas the entire army was become revolutionary, on the same principle that the eleven parliaments of the kingdom, formed with the same constitution, acted together and in concert in their quarrels with the court. Simplicity is certainly an excellent institution for an army in actual hostilities; but in a state of peace, an army being composed of homogeneous bodies and elements, in which no rivalship of interests or opinions is excited, may easily contribute to disasters.

CHAP. XVI.

Continuation of the Excuses of M. St. Germain.—The Staff Officers of the Armies of Lewis XVI. divided into two Factions: the devout Party, and the Party of the Military Reformers.—Portrait of the principal Officers of the French Army, by St. Germain.—Supplement necessary to be added to the Catalogue of this Minister.

M. DE ST. GERMAIN, when appointed to the administration of the war department, found in the officers of the army two parties, two systems, and two opposite descriptions of characters.

The first of these parties consisted of those in the military profession who yielded themselves implicitly to the orders and spirit of the French government. Marshal Richelieu had been for a long time the most distinguished personage among the military courtiers; but he was grown old, and was no longer talked of at court, but for his past achievements and his entire devotion to the support of absolute authority. He had given the tone to his party; and his personal importance had descended to marshal Broglio, who passed for the most expe-

rienced of our generals, and was even pointed to by public fame and common opinion as the destined commander of the troops, if France should have occasion to engage in a continental war.

In general, the whole body of the military profession was devoted, both by intention and sentiment, to the entire support of the power of the king; and I merely mention marshal Broglio, because his conduct in this respect was more emphatical and decisive, joining to his military tone that of a devotee, who commenced all his operations in the field, and all his projects in the cabinet, by going to mass. Marshal du Muy, who had died a little before, and whom M. St. Germain had succeeded, was a man of the same turn.

But philosophy, which had insinuated itself into the court, which had mounted the throne, which had found its way into the church and the administration, to use the expressions of M. d'Alembert, had equally established itself at the head of our armies; and though M. St. Germain had himself had a religious education, his innovating temper, his scheming propensities, his animosity against the great men of the state, his hatred towards the particular privileges of the military corps, his antipathy against the brilliant establishment of the royal guards, gained him

friends among the military philosophers, who ranged themselves under his standard. We shall hear him express in his own words the idea he entertained of the men capable of conceiving and executing his plans. He proposed the establishment of a military council. The following is his own portrait of the persons of which he wished it to be composed.

"If I were to be consulted," said he, "relative to this council, I would propose, for precedent, the prince of Beauvau. His understanding, his talents, the elevation of his character, and, above all, that unalterable sentiment of justice, so necessary when one is to decide upon the fate of others, are qualities that I myself have recognised in this officer. Of the whole body of the French generals, he is the one I have most observed, been oftenest called to obey, and for whom I have the profoundest esteem. Of all those who have commanded divisions, he is the one who has most exactly conformed himself to the rules of discipline. The king may recollect all I have had occasion to say of this accomplished character in various circumstances. Jealousy, envy, and misapprehension, will be revolted at the opinion I deliver; but its truth will be fully demonstrated, if M. de Beauvau be ever put to the trial*.

* This is the general opinion, without a dissentient voice.

"The five lieutenant-generals, of whom the senior in rank ought to be appointed vice-president, whom I deem the most qualified to fill the seats of this council, are, Messrs. de Castries, Stainville, Gribeuval, Rochambeau, Caraman, and count Broglio.

"Count Broglio is a man of a capacious mind, he has decision in his character, and fortitude in his soul. None but men of a marked and unequivocal cast are capable of great achievements. His defence of Cassel will be for ever celebrated; and on every occasion on which he shall be personally charged with any undertaking, he will display the same intelligence and the same intrepidity. It is usual, I know, to regard him with apprehension and alarm: there have been times when I have felt this sentiment towards him; but connected as I have been with him in the functions of my administration, I have detected the source of this alarm. He is severe; he abhors flattery; he judges, perhaps, too freely, undeterred by the birth or the influence of those with whom he is concerned; he calls a coward, a coward, and a blockhead, a fool; and as these two classes are considerably numerous, he will never be in want of a crowd of enemies. Their clamours are re-echoed from every side, and he has, in consequence, been judged a very dangerous

character. I have banished from my mind all resentment, all private grudges, and every shadow of prejudice; and I pronounce him to be a general, who will serve the king with effect in every affair he shall be employed to conduct.

" The marquis de Voyer is likewise a general officer whose extensive knowledge and superior talents render him extremely interesting. He possesses a considerable degree of personal courage, and even intrepidity, and may be classed among those rare and illustrious characters, who, under propitious circumstances, seem destined to run a glorious career. At the same time, I am sensible of his failings, and of all that has been imputed to his morals, which is most probably exaggerated by his enemies. But we are now considering merely the question of military talents, and the elevated qualities which contribute to the splendor of a state and the glory of a sovereign.

" Baron Wurmser joins to the experience of fifty-two years of active and uninterrupted service, a martial and decided bravery, of which I have myself, on many occasions, witnessed the strongest proofs. He possesses the dignity and loftiness of manner so necessary to men who command. In all the circumstances in which he has been employed, he has

secured the respect due to the laws, and preserved inviolate the rules of order. Of all the general officers, he is, in my opinion, the best calculated to govern a large province. I presume, also, that no obstacle could present itself in regard to religion, as he is a protestant; besides that religion has nothing to do with military service, nor are we any longer in those unhappy times, when a difference in dogmatical opinion produces national divisions. The spirit of intolerance is banished from all regulated states; and if some of them are still liable to the discontent of a few fanatical priests, whose lives are not unfrequently a real motive for the exclusion and disesteem they would, in defiance of public merit, draw down on a man who happens to be a protestant, we must rely that the wisdom of government will effectually repel their clamours.

" No one has a greater respect for religion than myself; it is from a full conviction of its sanctity that I practise devotion; for my belief is, that religion, while it disposes the human mind to justice, benevolence, and all that is interesting to humanity, leads it to reject every suggestion of the malignant passions.

" The eight brigadiers-general, the best calculated to fill successfully the eight places re-

served for officers of that rank in the council of war, are unquestionably the following:

" MM. de Puységur, the duke of Ayen, baron Wimpffen, the duke of Guines, Sarsfield, count Hanssonville, the marquis of Jancour, and the chevalier Mirau.

" M. de Castries, were he a member of the council of war, would, I have no doubt, evince great energy of character, joined to a love of order, discipline, and integrity. He is a perfectly respectable man; and it appears to me, that the extensive knowledge he has, by indefatigable application, acquired in matters of detail, would render him very useful in a court of justice. I am ignorant what may be his talents for war, never having had an opportunity to judge of him in this respect.

" M. de Stainville, independently of the talents and military qualifications I have observed in him, and which, I have no doubt, will some time or other procure him the highest command in the armies, possesses a long and enlightened experience of the various departments of administration. He has extracted excellent principles from foreign service; and his superior skill and intelligence could not but be highly beneficial in a court of justice. His character is severe, but his mind is endowed with all the sentiments of probity necessary for a judge.

" M. de Gribeauval is indispensably necessary to this tribunal. He is an able engineer, an enlightened artillery officer, and to very remarkable talents in his profession adds an immense number of other acquirements, which are supported by the experience of several campaigns, and by the opinion of the military of different countries; and though he be susceptible of certain prejudices, of particular friendships and animosities, they could not possibly affect his conduct in a council of war, while, on the other hand, his knowledge and talents would be inestimable. This truth, which I believe to be incontestable, may still further elucidate the necessity of such an establishment. I again repeat, that this establishment is more necessary in France than in any other country, and especially in the present situation of affairs.

" M. de Rochambeau is a man of the strictest honour and probity: to these virtues he joins real talents, extensive views, a great degree of information and erudition, and the uninterrupted practice of a profession, which he embraced from motives of preference, and follows with pleasure. Such a man cannot fail of being a valuable resource, whether simply as a member, or whether charged with functions of importance in such a court. Should it be determined to chuse a secretary, to draw up the

minutes, among these officers, M. de Rochambeau is certainly the best qualified to occupy such a place.

" I shall not enter into a particular detail of the brigadier-generals I have proposed; their merits have been ascertained at the head of regiments; but I will add the marquis of Conflans, as an officer particularly adapted for every thing which has a direct relation to campaigns. I shall also range in the same class with M. de Conflans, to be employed with the troops, MM. de Narbonne Fritzlar, de Guelb, and baron Viomenil. All those officers have served meritoriously in the field, and the greater part of them under my own orders; I have therefore some right to pass a decided judgment on their abilities. If a larger number of brigadier-generals be necessary, they should be chosen from the brigadiers; among whom are baron Salis, and the marquises of Vibraye and Lambert."

Such was the composition of the military council proposed to be established by M. St. Germain, and which M. de Maurepas thought fit to subvert. Instead of a council, the first minister in this circumstance allotted to M. St. Germain a censorian associate. This was the prince of Montbarrey, who was to watch over

and set bounds to the excursive imagination of St. Germain. At the same time, there appeared some critical observations and commentaries upon the list of M. St. Germain; of which it is proper that history should take some notice.

In effect, a very judicious and upright officer complained of the oblivions of St. Germain in regard to men of merit, and publicly accused him of passing over in silence MM. de Vogué, Ségur, Egmont, Devaux, Delaval de Montalembert, and Chabot. The marquis of Levi was also cited, and marshal Broglio, who had been as completely neglected as if St. Germain had never heard of him, notwithstanding the scandalous altercation that had formerly passed between them. The prince of Condé was also mentioned, who had been equally forgotten by the minister; nor did the slight and unimpressive manner in which the name of M. Caraman had been pronounced, escape observation and complaint, as he was a clear-sighted, able, active, and intelligent officer. The greatest dissatisfaction was also felt at the omission of M. de Grimoard, on account of the magnitude of his acquirements, and the profundity of his productions on military science. He had forgotten likewise the duke of Chatelet, with whom the minister had had intimate relations,

and who deserved to be considered as a man of understanding and distinguished military talents. The duke of Ayen, an officer with so decided a predilection for study as to renounce in its favour all kinds of pleasure, had been scarcely named. M. de la Roque, who to the merit of the most brilliant actions joined that of twenty wounds, M. de Jancourt, whom he had so often consulted during his administration, M. de Mailly, who had given such repeated proofs of bravery and skill in his post, in a word, the princes of Lambesc and of Poix, the counts Esterhay and Rochefort, Custines d'Harcourt, the chevalier de Boufflers, Guibert, viscount Laval, with many others of equal talents and merit, were wholly forgotten or neglected.

M. St. Germain had shown in his conduct the very same partiality that is apparent in his list. The military profession were so much disgusted, that a general officer wrote in the margin of the above memorials, while they were yet in manuscript, these memorable words :—" When M. St. Germain was dismissed, the military discontent was at such a height, that the king could not depend upon a single corps. This minister had dared to form the gallant army of France upon the model of a German army of peasants and slaves."

The grandees of the court partook of the same discontented feeling; the king and M. de Maurepas had for some time resolved to dismiss St. Germain, and waited only for a favourable occasion; the moment at length arrived, when all orders of the state were irritated against him. His situation was like that of M. Turgot; and like Turgot, he was restless, absent, rude, morose, and capricious. Devoured with these feelings, he at length demanded from the king his dismission, and the usual compensation. The king took him at his word. He retired first to the arsenal, where he had an apartment, and composed there a memorial, justifying his intentions, and confessing his errors.

Thus finished the united ascendency of Turgot, Malesherbes, and St. Germain; men most passionately interested against the court, and the old political system of France.

CHAP. XVII.

Portrait of M. de Maurepas, Mentor of Lewis XVI., during the Administration of Turgot, continued.—Cabinet divided into two Factions—Relative Position of the Factions.—Adherence of the royal or military System.—Opposite Position of the Faction of Reformers.—Neutrality of Maurepas and Lewis XVI.—Their decisive Measures against the royal and military System injurious to the Monarchy.—Effects of their Policy upon the Destinies of the House of Bourbon.—Results of the brief Administration of Turgot.

THE character of M. de Maurepas demands at this period a very accurate consideration.

In 1774, we saw a revolution take place in France favourable to liberty, inasmuch as it placed under the protection of the king, a magistracy exiled, unpliant, and prepared for insurrection, and as it humbled Terray and Maupeou, the authors of their exile.

In 1776, M. de Maurepas took an opposite course, and raised the declining spirit of despotism, by humbling MM. Malesherbes and Turgot.

In 1774, he had called philosophy to the aid

of the throne. In 1776, philosophy was driven from the royal favour, and given up to public contempt. We shall presently see what was the scheme it adopted for purposes of revenge.

In 1774, the clergy, the court nobility, the higher department of finance, the administration in general, and the first orders of the state, united their opinions and their efforts in a common cause, each seeking who should most strenuously support the parliaments established by M. de Maupeou. In this situation, M. de Maurepas set himself in opposition to this league, and employed the power of the crown in supporting and recalling from exile the old parliaments, who, by the intrigues of the Richelieus and other families, for ages the supporters of the military system, had been ignominiously discarded in 1771.

In 1776, M. de Maurepas, on the contrary, coalesced with all these eminent persons, by whom he had been most bitterly opposed, when he showed himself a reformer and a philosopher, for the destruction of the philosophical party, who had already seized the intrenchments of the state, and for the defeat of their projects of revolution.

Thus, in the space of two years, the royal authority, fluctuating, indecisive, with no system of conduct, having lost the thread of policy by

which it had hitherto been preserved, and, above all, unprovided with prudence and foresight, had made war,

On the party of despotism in 1774:

On the votaries of reduced power in 1776.

Thus the two kinds of monarchical government, the *high military system* on the one hand, and *the temperate and reduced system* on the other, had been in open hostility against the house of Bourbon, which, for two centuries, had owed its preservation solely to perpetual caution, and to the most vigilant and circumspect attention to the future. Within the space of two years this house had declared war upon its friends and its enemies, had sported with the plans most conducive to its preservation, and treated lightly the systems of the philosophers, which aimed at its destruction. The views of the two parties had been publicly discussed, to the great detriment of that mystery which is so necessary in affairs of policy. The subjects most devoted to the throne, and those most hostile to its interests, had in the space of two years been alternately malcontent, inimical, and in a state of confirmed opposition against the infant reign of Lewis XVI.

Let us observe here the conduct of M. de Maurepas. We have already said, that he wished to keep the reins in his own hands during his life-

We may add, that he formed this desire at the expense of the safety of the state.

If, in 1774, he was hostile to the obedient magistracy, and recalled the exiled one, it was because he had resolved to effect the ruin of the profound Maupeou, who, through the interests of madame Adelaide and the devotees, was on the point of obtaining such an ascendency over the king's mind, that the revolution in 1771 would have been confirmed and perpetuated.

If, in 1776, he took the resolution to expel the virtuous, but dangerous Turgot, it was because he perceived that the disciplined moralities and severe justice of this financial minister had begun, through analogy of sentiment, to operate on the mind of the king. Of what importance was it to Maurepas, that Lewis XVI. brought on himself the murmurs of the first orders of the state in the revolution of 1774? Of what importance to him, that this prince excited, in 1776, the dangerous animosity of speculators on a revolution, and of the friends of liberty, provided he retained himself the reins, and that his place remained unassailable? It appears that these were exclusively the views of Maurepas in his ministerial conduct.

The two first years of the reign of Lewis XVI. had twice then deeply wounded the mon-

archy. The revolution of 1774, and other analogous proceedings, served to introduce an indifference in the first orders of the state towards the royal family. Their usual devotion to royalty insensibly diminished; they withdrew from court; instead of serving, they censured it; instead of studying how to become its ornament and support, they, to a certain degree, became republicans in the very metropolis. They mixed with the philosophical party, and their discontent was every where manifested. The court, in forgetting the interests of the first orders in the revolution of 1774, had prepared their subsequent disaffection; and the favour of the king, which, in the reign of Lewis XIV., and even in that of his successor, had been highly esteemed, was no longer considered as a recompence for any thing.

The effects of the disgrace of the philosophical party were still more fatal in 1776. The party of M. Turgot, who were afterwards seen, under the republic, to be the votaries of wisdom and humanity, was, in 1776, under the monarchy, an anomalous mass of audacious men, capable, under the government of a young and pliant sovereign, of carrying every thing into effect that might lead to the revolution which eventually took place.

It cannot be said, that the philosophical party

in France acted without a plan. It was the court that had no plan; the former exhibited one that was well combined and well pursued, and which, through the interposition of Turgot, was boldly presented to Lewis XVI. The object of this plan, which was executed in 1789, was to effect the destruction of the clergy and the nobility. Some symptoms of this project were apparent also in the writings of the economists, and the plan of it is distinctly announced in the remonstrances of the clergy and the parliaments, and in the writings of the abbé Mably, &c.

In the works of Languinais, the abbé Raynal, Diderot, and others of their contemporaries, these symptoms are still more conspicuous. The whole system of the revolution in 1792 may be traced in them; and certainly, in a period of from fifteen to eighteen years, they had time sufficient to be universally disseminated, previously to the sanguinary catastrophe.

The irresolution and the want of foresight in the court contributed to conduct the revolution to its unhappy sequel, to which a thousand events concurred, especially as the two revolutions of 1774 and 1776 had humbled the friends of royalty and armed its enemies.

The disorder and anarchy of the council of the

state during the years 1774, 1775, and 1776, could not possibly produce any other consequences. The following is the remarkable list of the personages who composed it.

Royalist Ministry of 1774, under Lewis XVI.	*Reforming Ministry, established by St. Bartholomew's Day in 1774.*
The prince of Soubise.	Turgot.
The duke of Vrillière.	Malesherbes.
M. d'Aiguillon, and afterwards count de Vergennes.	
Bertin.	
Marshal du Muy.	
The abbé Terray.	

Royalist Ministry of 1776.	*Reforming Ministry of 1776.*
Vergennes.	St. Germain.
Bertin.	Malesherbes.
The prince of Soubise.	Turgot.
Sartines.	
Marshal du Muy.	

Third Party in 1774 and in 1776.

M. de Maurepas, Mentor to the king, and M. de Miroménil, keeper of the seals.

By this simple nomenclature, it is easy to perceive the dangers which menaced the state,

now, for the first time in France, confided to a man in years, without system, without principle, and who was determined to keep his post during life. Such was M. de Maurepas, whose blind proceedings sometimes excited acts of hostility from the enemies of the state, and sometimes implicated in those hostilities the very powers he should have called to his support. He thus indiscriminately directed against Lewis XVI. both liberty and despotism, moderate spirits, and spirits intoxicated with ideas of reform and revolution; the saving authorities of the monarchy, and the revolutionary powers which had plotted its destruction.

In this conjuncture, what resources had the king for the support of the interests of his house? None but hirelings, who were to abandon him in 1789; hermaphrodites without character, whom we have seen equally devoted to oppoſite passions; venal wretches, who gave the monarchy to democracy, and served either party as occasion required. Lewis XVI. had declared war with royalty in 1774, and with liberty in 1776; his reign experienced the effects of the resentment of the philosophical party, and of the royalists who considered themselves offended. The revolution, which is the consequence of this, is the work both

of the action and of the opposition of government *.

* This policy, or rather this total absence of policy, which discovered itself in France at the memorable period when our destinies were silently leading us from absolute monarchy to liberty, conspicuously re-appears at the epoch of the institution of the directory, with this difference however, that, in 1776, a courtier of pleasing and agreeable manners, M. de Maurepas, conducted the political machine with graceful attitudes and poignant repartees; while the revolutionary leaders of the year IV. (1795) goaded on the nation, hitherto the most loyal and affectionate, to pronounce the oaths of the two hatreds most analogous to the ferocity of their authors.

The St. Bartholomew of M. de Maurepas was an agreeable and amusing exile of his opposers to their country-seats. The St. Bartholomew of the directory was a tissue of proscriptions and murders.

CHAP. XVIII.

Dialogue between Marshal Richelieu and the Author of these Memoirs on the Downfall of the philosophical Part of the Ministry in 1776—*On the celebrated Prosecution of that Party.* —*On the Decline of royal Authority; and on the secret Influence of the English Cabinet in the Disorders of* 1776.

MARSHAL Richelieu possessed a strong natural understanding, and considerable foresight in regard to affairs of state. "You have lived under three reigns," said Lewis the XVIth to him one day, "tell me, marshal, what difference have you observed in them?"—"Ah, sire," replied Richelieu, "all ages resemble each other; but none will ever equal that in which you live for sentiments of justice, and the virtues resident in your person."

"I do not wish to be praised," said the king: "I ask, what difference you have remarked in the three reigns? and I wish you to answer without circumlocution, and as concisely as possible, that I may remember what you say. You have been married under each of those reigns, and must surely have formed an opinion of the respective periods."

" Since you command me, sire, I will obey your majesty, and give my opinion with impartiality.

" Under Lewis XIV. nobody dared to speak. Under Lewis XV. the people began to whisper, and to write secretly. Under the reign of your majesty, they both write and speak as they please."

" If that be the case," said Lewis XVI. to the marshal, " I am not sorry to have unloosed their tongues."

This play of words was not so frivolous as at first may appear, but comprised, on the contrary, considerable meaning. It depicts the progress of liberty under three remarkable periods of the history of the house of Bourbon; it is the laconic annals of the unfolding of liberty and of the human mind.

Marshal Richelieu detested M. de Maurepas. Inheriting the despotic principles of his great uncle, he saw with grief the scenes which passed at court, and the bitter contests between the partisans of liberty and despotism, between the king's party and that of Turgot. I found at his house twelve manuscript copies of the letter to M. Maurepas, inserted in the second volume, page 229, of this work. He was of opinion, that philosophy was of service in colleges, to

enlighten the mind, and to teach it the theory of different governments; but that, if stationed at the head of a government, it was pernicious and hostile to the repose of the nation.

It was on these principles that he disapproved of introducing the usages and opinions of the English into the state. He thought that an empire, instead of seeking after foreign alliances, should rather maintain the system of the cardinal, his great uncle. He beheld the monarchy mouldering away on all sides from having adopted opposite systems; and he asserted, that it had been hastening its own destruction from the time of recalling the parliaments, and that France would experience the most deplorable misfortunes, if the progress of licence and power were not effectually restrained.

With respect to the celebrated procedure against madame de St. Vincent, he said, that it would be treated of by history in the same manner as other celebrated political procedures flowing from the contradictory spirit of parties. The procedure against the duke of Aiguillon, as well as that against madame de St. Vincent, was the work of the enemies of the state, and of the secret animosity of the duke of Choiseul. "It was natural," said he, "that two opposite parties engaged together in a dance, should force me to dance also." He observed, that the parliament, and

all other judicial authorities, terminated political procedures in favour of their own party; that himself, being the declared enemy of parliaments, should no doubt have been calumniated without mercy, if he had not been *as white as snow*; "and," said he, "the magistracy which I helped to destroy would, on its reinstatement, have rejoiced to dishonour me, could it have detected in me one culpable action. A verdict of delinquency would be delightful to a parliament that feeds on revenge. Every endeavour has been tried to discover guilt in me, every effort employed to find the proofs desired, but with no other result than that of demonstrating to the king, that his court was ever divided into two parties, whose quarrels would be injurious to royal authority, since they were already so to the most attached and meritorious portion of his subjects *.

"During the singular circumstances of my prosecution, the government was exposed to intestine commotions, in which England was nothing less than a stranger. This power well knew that France fomented the troubles of her colonies by its emissaries: she saw the court of

* The author of these Memoirs begs the reader to observe, that he is not passing a judgment on the procedure against marshal de Richelieu, but merely repeating his own expressions.

France anxious to repress her inland pride and her maritime power: she may be said to have had no allies on the continent. In France she acquired to herself allies in the bosom of philosophy. By her machinations she raised Turgot and Malesherbes to the head of the government: by subsequent intrigues she inspired them with confidence and fool-hardiness; she urged upon them the execution of their dangerous systems, and those systems tended to the subversion of the state.

"France was the conductor and soul of the discontents in the American colonies. England exerted all her industry to confound and mislead the French cabinet. Turgot had sold himself to England, and Malesherbes yielded blindly to the impulse of Turgot. Turgot had not sold himself to England for money; he was of an incorruptible spirit; but he was in accord with the English, to overturn France, to humble the first persons in the state, the unalterable foes of England, and to involve us with Austria, which had become one of our main supports, even by her mere inaction, during the impending war between France and England. At all times there has been a secret alliance, the vestiges of which I have traced even in the bosom of our academies, between the French philosophical politicians and the English government. Lewis

XV. had long opposed himself to this dangerous connexion; he saw it with strong alarms: but, under Lewis XVI., the good temper and confidence of this prince suffered the evil to grow; insomuch that these apprehended connexions augmented and extended themselves, under the new reign, in the very heart of France.

"It was necessary, to circumvent M. Turgot, to menace him, and even to expel him at length from the ministry, where, in the course of a few months, his agency had occasioned so many misfortunes. These were the only causes of the downfall of Turgot and Malesherbes. If the king had respected their reforms, there would no longer have been in France a throne, administration, courtiers, nobility, clergy, religion, or commerce. M. Turgot wished to see nothing but naturalists and agriculturists in France; no other religion than probity; no moral opinions but those of the economists, who are of all sects the most irrational, but whose humour it is perhaps judicious to indulge, after the example of M. de Soubise, as a security against greater evils.

"These were the causes of the agitations in the interior of France during the first years of the reign of Lewis XVI. She wished to declare war against England; and England, wish-

ing to have the glory of declaring it herself, took steps to keep off the measure till she had found means to gain this point. Upon this, France changed her ministry, and supported the insurgents."

POLITICAL SKETCH

OF

EUROPE,

AND

OF HER RELATIONS WITH FRANCE,

From the Epoch of the Accession of Lewis XVI. to the Crown, to that of the American War.

CHAP. I.

Of the Princes and Governments of Europe, Contemporaries with Lewis XVI.—George III. dethroned by Lewis XVI. in America—His Life attempted by Margaret Nicholson, and afterwards, in the eighth Year of the Republic, by a Soldier.—Joseph King of Portugal assassinated.—Ganganelli killed by Poison.—The King of Sardinia stripped of Savoy, the original Seat of his House—Piedmont invaded under his Successor.—Gustavus III. assassinated by Ankerstroom.—Poland annihilated, and Stanislaus dethroned.—The Stadtholder is stripped, and a Fugitive.—The Syndics of Geneva, the Doges of Genoa and Venice, the Magistrate of Berne, the King of Naples, are stripped and pursued by their Jacobins and by our Armies.—Turkey, Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Spain, are preserved from Insurrections.—Considerations on the Passion of Hatred, as it exists in the Breasts of the People against Kings, and as it exists in Kings against Kings.

IF the picture of France in a state of revolution presents to the view a government without foundation to support it, or centre to revolve upon, from the year 1789, Europe shows us one, in which we see that contemporary governments and princes were at the same time agitated and tormented either by revolutions or assassinations.

Lewis XVI., a prisoner in the Tuilleries, might say of George III., "I dethroned him in America, by uniting my forces to those of his revolted colonies."

Joseph II. brother-in-law to Lewis, beheld Brabant erected against his power, and declaring itself independent. His successors appear to have irrevocably lost that country.

Joseph, king of Portugal, had been assassinated under the same circumstances as Lewis XV.

Ganganelli, who died of poison, according to the opinion of his friends, succeeded a pope of pacific character, who, through the consequences of the French revolution, was stripped of his states, and banished to one of the departments of the republic when he died.

From his prison in the Temple, Lewis XVI. might have heard of the revolt of Savoy, the original seat of the house of that name, against the king of Sardinia. The directory afterwards dethroned the successor of this prince.

The life of George III., a prince beloved and esteemed for his private virtues, is attempted by Margaret Nicholson, and, very recently, by a soldier of his army.

Gustavus, who in 1772 had subdued the usurping encroachments of his nobility, is murdered in 1793 by Ankerstroom.

The revolution of France, as frequently immoral in its diplomatic relations as in its internal operations, has overturned the subaltern republics by exciting the people against established authority. The ancient sovereignties of Geneva and Mulhausen are become French municipalities. In Holland the stadtholder, and in Tuscany the grand duke, have been stripped of their states. The doge of Venice, the doge of Genoa, the magistrate of Berne, the chief of the republic of Lucca, the king of Naples, have all lost their possessions, been the victims of devastation, revolt, and plunder, and are at this moment fugitives pursued by their jacobins and our armies.

All governments have epochs of debility, and epochs of vigour, which ought not to escape the observation of history; and it is still more worthy of remark, that the nations which have suffered revolutions, or been assaulted by acts of violence on the life of their chiefs, are precisely those that have shown the greatest humanity and deference to the insurgents who committed these crimes.

All the petty states in Europe, which we see agitated by our armies, or by the republicanism of malcontents, under the popes, the doges, the magistrates, and the stadtholders, previously enjoyed uninterrupted tranquillity. Their sub-

jects have raised the standard of liberty, and entered upon revolutions that will not soon be terminated.

The other nations, whose princes have been assassinated, were governed with equal mildness and moderation; while the imperious Catharine II. escaped such a fate, and in the bosom of an empire, whose torment she had been, whose soldiery she had decimated, in the midst of a court whose legitimate rights she had usurped, expired in peace and tranquillity. The king of Prussia, the king of Spain, and the emperor, the first powers who declared war against the French republic, all govern their subjects with tranquillity; and the Turkish emperor, whose military establishment is so contemptible that we send him both engineers and artisans, employs prudence in his government of a people somewhat inclined to revolution.

Another fact, which, by reflecting observers, will not be deemed unworthy of consideration, is, that, in the space of the time employed in writing these Memoirs, the passion of hatred between kings has become as active and terrible as the same passion in the minds of insurgent nations against their princes. The cabinet of Versailles, which dispossessed George III. of his American states, in favour of the republicans; the cabinet of London, which revenged

itself by assisting the subversion of the throne of the Bourbons, for the benefit of the French republic, and which now meditates the subversion of the republic with a view to the restoration of the house of Bourbon; Austria, Russia, and Prussia, which dethroned Stanislaus, and twice divided among themselves his plundered states; Catharine, who decreed the general massacre of such Poles as were devoted to their country and its ancient form of government; all those European monarchs leagued together against the young Maria Theresa, mother-in-law to Lewis XVI., for the purpose of seizing her possessions for the advantage of France, and of Frederic II.; Maria Theresa, France, and all Europe, coalesced in another direction, for stripping Frederic, by the seven-years-war, in favour of Maria Theresa; all those examples are proofs that the ambitious passions of the princes, contemporary with Lewis XVI., have been as flagitious and oppressive to nations as the decisions of our executive council, our committee of public safety, or our directory of the republic, whose decrees dispossessed the syndics of Geneva of their sovereignty, introduced democracy into Naples and Rome, and abolished in Holland and in Switzerland two federative republics, to obtain a hazardous emolument for two other indivisible republics. During the last

half century, Europe seems to have been governed by invisible and evil geniuses, succeeding to ministers, who, in preceding times, had furnished history with annals worthy of their principles and civilisation.

This picture of the calamities of nations, and the strange instability of modern governments, may be considered as a lesson of moderation and tranquillity to all empires*.

It is a horrible consideration, that the very nature of the people in those different states condemns them to serve as the instruments of the passions of their masters; but at least it behoves the latter on their own account to be well aware of the dangers of a warlike and agitated polity; let the shock and revolution that all Europe has sustained, let the fall of so many princes and states instruct them, that the safety of the heads of an empire is the offspring of tranquillity and peace. The present war, the conception and tricking contrivance of an adventurer in 1792, has ruined the house of Bourbon, and overturned all Europe. If Brissot designed this effect, as he dared to assert at the moment of the birth of the French republic, let

* The enemies of France now reproach us for our revolutionary passions; they are no doubt hideous; but observe the destiny of other nations, and the fate of the princes contemporary with Lewis XVI., described in this chapter.

the surrounding governments carefully study the influence of the projects of an obscure agitator; let them in the approaching moment of peace calculate of how much advantage to them are the tranquillity and prosperity of their people. The war of 1792 has changed the face of the world; another war would change it in a mode that no human perspicacity is competent to predict. We may judge of its results by the diplomatical developements of the succeeding chapters. They will prove to demonstration, that Europe is no longer in her natural position, nor has been so for the last quarter of the past eighteenth century; and that the system of human perfectibility, invented by MM. Turgot and Condorcet, is one of the visionary remedies they have thought necessary to oppose to the complaints which religious writers and which J. J. Rousseau have vented against the manners of the eighteenth century, and the influence of the literary lucubrations of modern philosophers.

CHAP. II.

Of the Court of Rome at the Beginning of the Reign of Lewis XVI.—This Court during many preceding Reigns divided into two Parties.—The opposite Factions of the impetuous and devout Clement XIII., and of the philosophical Ganganelli, divide the Court of Rome and the Conclave in 1774.—Portrait and Policy of Cardinal Bernis, the Embassador of Lewis XVI., in this Situation.—Intrigues of the Conclave in 1774.—Faction of the Zealots—Political Faction of the Crowns—General Instructions of the Court of France upon the Subject—Mechanism of the Internal Factions of the Conclave—They unite in Favour of Cardinal Braschi.—Adoration of Pope Pius VI.—Portrait of this Pontiff.—Sketch of the Dangers of the Court of Rome—Influence of its Principles upon the general Affairs of Europe—Effects of the two Parties into which it was divided.

THESE two parties, which we have seen distracting the interior of the court of France, particularly under the administration of Turgot; this hostile array, insinuating itself into the bosom, or threatening the existence of all European governments; these riper or less mature animosities, in some cases secret, in others conspicuous, which shortened the lives of so many sovereigns by sword and poison, had for a long

time agitated the court of the vatican in forms analogous to the manners of the sacred college.

In vain is the court of Rome composed of men aged and unmarried: her *zelanti*, or, in other words, the ultramontane cardinals, disposed to contravene the politics of princes, and the political cardinals, whose vocation it was to support them, divided her into two paties, in which we might discover all the faults, the capriciousness, and the passions, of other European governments. That court, which was by character the most reserved, and by the secrecy of its maxims, the profoundness of its policy, the awfulness of its ceremonies, and its combined concern with the affairs of heaven and earth, the most imposing, exhibited a spectacle to all the world of the intestine animosities of her two principal factions.

Under the devout, the pious, and the stern Clement XIII., (*Rezzonico*) this court, exclusively directed by jesuits and zealots, proceeded to the extreme imprudence of excommunicating the infant of Parma. The house of Bourbon was incensed at the outrage. The king of Naples subtracted from the infatuated pontiff the dominions of Benevento and Porte Corvo. France took possession of the city of Avignon. But upon the death of Clement XIII., the majority of the

cardinals perceived that the party of the zealots had passed the limits of prudence, so that the political cardinals gained strength; and Ganganelli, a man enlightened, tolerant, and philosophical, in comparison of his predecessor, was elected to fill the vacant chair.

The influence of the courts of France, Madrid, and Naples, the repentance of some of the zealot cardinals, and the necessity of mollifying the wrath of the house of Bourbon, contributed to this choice. The courts of France, of Madrid, and above all that of Portugal, negotiated with Ganganelli the destruction of the jesuits, accused of instigating the party of the zealots, and of urging on the ultramontane politics of the court of Rome, politics not less odious to the catholic than to the protestant powers. Thus did the conclave forget her dearest interests, and sacrifice a corps so blindly devoted to the papal decrees, as to oblige itself by oath to disseminate the christian faith in Tonquin, China, and Japan, and every other country, neighbouring or remote, to which the holy father might think proper to send them.

From this procedure, we may be led to feel the danger of the position of all governments relative to the opposition to those governments. At Rome, Ganganelli the philosopher, Ganganelli the *cordelier*, raised to the chair of St.

Peter, by abolishing the jesuits, destroys the light-armed troops of the vatican; the faithful servants of the court of Rome are persecuted, imprisoned, or exiled under this tolerant pontiff.

In France, on the contrary, at the very same epoch, the royal authority annihilated the opposition which had taken root in the parliament. The French government send a lesson to the court of Rome on the maxims of despotism and the art of maintaining prerogative, while Rome displayed an example in the art of self-destruction. At the same time, however, France and Naples restored to the pope the dominions they had usurped.

No long time after, the friends of Ganganelli complained that their master had been poisoned. The debates which took place in France on the death of the dauphin, father of Lewis XVI., were renewed in a similar manner at Rome. The zeal of the house of God is certainly capable of this crime when it is elevated to the pitch of fanaticism. The death of Ganganelli, however, in spite of the probabilities which exist on the subject, is still, like other accusations of a similar nature, a subject of eager contention and doubtful debate; the very charge shows, that a court entirely composed of decrepid and grey-headed men is as susceptible as any other of

the ordinary and secular passions of the human race.

The party of the politicians, which had remained under a cloud at Rome in the time of Rezzonico, had recovered their spirits in the time of Ganganelli; and the zealots, malcontents, and disaffected, under Ganganelli, reinforced themselves in the conclave of 1774 with a considerable recruit of neutrals, exasperated at the haughtiness of his style, at the contrariety of his measures to the spirit and interests of the court over which he presided, and at his servile and implicit adherence to the house of Bourbon. These disaffected cardinals formed a great majority in the sacred college in 1774. In this party you might distinguish the two Rezzonicos, inheritors of the maxims of their uncles, Torrigiani, Albani, the two Colonnas, Boschi, Castalli, Buffalini, and Paraciani, zealots intrepid, impetuous, and unboundedly devoted to the maxims of the court of Rome; regretting those ancient and venerable ages in which she gave and took away crowns as she pleased, weeping tears of anguish over the abolition of the jesuits, desiring a reign the reverse of that of Clement XIV., in which their influence had been reduced to nothing, and speaking with the utmost superciliousness and contempt of the liberties of the gallican church.

The opposite party of the political cardinals was, on the contrary, remarkable for principles more analogous to the liberty of the primitive church, for its acquirements, its love of tranquillity, and its desire to be in amity with kings. The most distinguished of these were, Stoppani, the rival of Ganganelli in the last conclave, Negroni, Zelada, Malvezza, Conty, Simone, &c., who were all devoted to the cardinal Bernis.

This celebrated cardinal, whom we have already seen exiled from the court of France, had been sent to Rome, in quality of embassador, by the Austrian faction, who felt apprehensions in regard to his French principles, the tone he assumed, the evident favour bestowed on him by Lewis XV., and his return to the administration. Bernis bitterly repented the extent of the concession he had made by the treaty of 1756 in favour of the court of Vienna, and consequently greatly disapproved of that made in 1758, which was degrading to the French nation. The duke of Choiseul, who stood in awe of him, had procured for him at Rome, on the grounds of his filling the offices of cardinal and embassador, a splendid fortune, and employed his attention in that capital upon the definitive destruction of the order of the jesuits. His sumptuous and luxurious manner of living

was effaced by the superior splendor of the court of Rome; but the taste and delicacy, the most exquisite refinements of which he had acquired in the magnificent times of Lewis XV. in the French court, exceed perhaps all comparison. The object of his legation at Rome was to create political popes, and to repress such institutions as the ridiculous excommunication of the infant of Parma. He had succeeded in giving us Ganganelli, and was afterwards enjoined to strengthen the party of the political cardinals, to employ the seducing arguments of fortune and magnificence in order to secure at Rome a party favourable to the house of Bourbon, and to obtain of Ganganelli the suppression of the jesuits. Bernis had already, under the auspices of madame de Pompadour, begun this suppression at Paris, and he was to accomplish it definitively under Ganganelli at Rome.

Each of these operations, in which the cardinal de Bernis had with address and dignity succeeded, rendered him necessarily an object of secret dislike and apprehension to the party of zealous cardinals. But as he acted agreeably to the instructions of Lewis XVI., as he could command the suffrages of a great number of crowned heads, this zealous party was reduced to the necessity, on its own account, to treat him with profound respect. He possessed the

secret of Lewis XVI.; and if the tiara itself was not in his gift, yet he knew how to exclude from it, in the name of his master, and according to the ancient rights of the *veto* in the French monarchy, (and which the French republic will no doubt take care to perpetuate) those refractory and impetuous cardinals. He could, besides, add to or diminish the number of suffrages in favour of, or against, such or such a cardinal, who aspired to the papacy. Under Ganganelli he enjoyed the highest credit and consideration; and in every situation he was assured, if the political party did not wholly direct the election of a successor, that, at worst, he should find himself the chief, the sole, and the acknowledged adviser of the cardinals who adhered to that party.

These circumstances, and this contention of interests, were fully felt in the conclave of 1774. The party of Rezzonico, and the party of Ganganelli, rendered it long and tempestuous. Such Englishmen as happened to be at Rome, and who were not satisfied that the holy ghost inspired the vatican in the choice of a successor, described, in their letters to London, the intrigues of the two parties, to give a chief to the christian church favourable to their interests. They said, that the zealots could not succeed, because they were unable to unite two-thirds of the con-

clave in favour of any member of their party, and that the politicians were in the same situation.

The imprudences of Rezzonico furnished indeed a terrible lesson to the secular party; while the philosophical propensities of Ganganelli, and the abolition of the jesuits, furnished, to the devout and zealous cardinals, warnings not less disquieting. Each of the two parties, thus assembled together in the warm contentions and the narrow compass of the conclave, sought to deceive its opponents: to choose from a third and neutral party a candidate, upon whom, nevertheless, the respective factions could depend, was the continual meditation and last resort of each in the conclave which elected Pius VI.

The conclave was opened in the month of October, and was not only divided between the two eminent factions I have just delineated, but each of these factions was again split into subordinate parties: so that, for example, in the secular faction, while the court of Vienna wished to bring about the election of cardinal Visconti, for whom it had conceived a friendship while he filled the office of nuncio at that place, the court of Madrid did not less exert itself for the elevation of Pallavicini, cousin to the Spanish prime-minister Grimaldi. As to Lewis XVI.,

he confined himself to the instructing cardinal Bernis, who occupied the most eminent rank in the secular faction, by no means to oppose the court of Spain, and to show all proper deference to the court of Vienna. These instructions were sufficiently analogous to the character of Lewis XVI., and of his minister the count de Vergennes.

In this state of division, the zealot party had the majority and the preponderance; but not, however, sufficiently so, as to be able to gain over the two-third parties by the refusal of the political royal party, to concur in an ultramontane election, because, out of thirty-seven cardinals, sixteen were of the political party. Thus the opposition was sufficient. The zealots proposed nearly all the individuals of their party, and the political party showed the same opposition. Braschi, since Pius VI., professed neutrality.

Fatigued with so much contention, the two factions at length assembled for the purpose of agreeing that each party should propose three candidates. This was putting the crown party, who, from the opening of the conclave, had invariably been in the minority, upon the footing of perfect equality; but the measure, however, only produced a stronger complication of difficulties. The crown party still demanded the

election of Pallavicini, and the court of Vienna that of Visconti. In this conjuncture, Pallavicini gave a remarkable example of disinterestedness, declaring that, for the sake of harmony and tranquillity, he was ready to renounce his pretensions to the honour of the papacy; at the same time recommending, that the election might fall on Braschi, (Pius VI.) who, at the close of the poll on the 14th of February, had all the votes in his favour. According to the old custom, the sacred college assembled in a body for the purpose of proceeding to the *adoration* of the new pope. This is the term for the homage appointed by the cardinals to be offered to the vicar of Jesus Christ.

The reasons of expediency which favoured the election of Pius VI. became afterwards the principal cause of the misfortunes of his reign. It was observed in the conclave, in discussing on the character, principles, and affections of Braschi, that he was indebted to Benedict XIV., a pope of great philosophical acquirements, for the first steps of his present elevation. Clement XIII., of an opposite character, had named him treasurer of the apostolical chamber. To render himself agreeable to these two pontiffs, he had been obliged to have recourse to a flexibility of conduct. Under Clement he was compelled to temporise with the

jesuits; and under Benedict with the moderate party. In consequence of this double character, Braschi was able to assure the two cardinals Rezzonico, leaders of the zealots, of his devotion to them. He could also give the same assurance to Bernis, and even suggest that the flexibility of his character was the natural guarantee of the tranquillity of his reign. In fact, he owed his elevation to the two parties; and nothing was easier than for the zealots on the one hand to believe that he felt the strongest gratitude towards the pope Rezzonico, who had bestowed on him places that would procure him a cardinalship; and the crown party on the other, to rely that his spirit of moderation would be as apparent in the chair of St. Peter as it had been during his office of chamberlain under the ultramontane Clement XIII. Braschi was the nelected precisely because he leaned equally between the two parties; because he excited no jealousy either in the moderate or in the zealot party; because he possessed a versatile character, devoid of show and pretensions, and of any determined plan; because he was neither for Rezzonico nor for Ganganelli. Such a character however in a sovereign, in times of revolution, was extremely dangerous; it effected the ruin of Lewis XVI., and conducted Pius VI. from the *adoration* of the conclave to his definitive situation

last year at Valence, where, abandoned by the whole world, excepting the Spanish embassador, he died in France, given up by the directory to his enemies, who, lost to all sense of decency, suffered him to be buried without the usual distinctions. When Bonaparte became consul of the republic, he bestowed on his remains the honours due to his rank.

It may easily be conceived, that those divisions in the court of Rome tended to facilitate the most dangerous hostilities against her. It is easily imagined what insults she was liable to from the most religious of the implicated powers, from the court of Naples, from Tuscany, from the court of Vienna, and whatever other governments might think proper to wrest from her the prerogatives which, through the piety of preceding ages, she had obtained. Rome, thus divided in her most sacred relations, offered to Europe a dangerous opportunity of comparing her primitive institution, and the actual sovereignty of her authority. After having seen France distracted during the eighteenth century, by the disputes produced by the bull *unigenitus*, with which Rome had purposed to appease the opposition that had sprung up between the policy of her conduct and the policy of her claims, she now beheld this very quarrel, calmed in France, break out with alarming

symptoms at Florence, at Naples, and at Vienna; and she felt no apprehension that the misunderstanding extending itself to Rome, one of the main sources of her authority, would produce the most memorable consequences on the manners and the liberty of Europe. She had made no calculation of the effects to result from the alternate victories of jesuitism and jansenism. She had not reflected, spite of the individual sagacity of her most able cardinals, bred in the science of policy in all the catholic courts of Europe, the dreadful consequences of a train of government destitute of plan, fluctuating between manners, libertine and austere, and all whose measures were either fickle or indirect. The misfortunes of the court of Rome, like those of the house of Bourbon, sprung from the inconsistent proceedings of successive pontiffs, opposite in their systems of religion and government; the liberality of Benedict XIV., the jesuitical propensities of Clement XIII., and the philosophical system of pope Ganganelli. These contradictory councils of the vatican, the correspondent contradiction, and re-action of the surrounding states, the decrees and repeals which followed, and, above all, the abolition of the jesuits, contributed to the revolution. Hence we may perceive, that, whatever denomination we may bestow upon, and with whatever colour

delineate, the internal and present disturbance of nations, we shall ultimately be led back to the determinations of the court of Rome, and find that they are all more or less involved in the affairs of religion. In a word, we shall have demonstrated to us, that tranquil and pacific governments have a mechanism, a system of wheels and springs, which become feebler or more strong in proportion to the folly or the prudence of their administrators. The bull *unigenitus*, which armed all probity and strictness of sentiment against the court of Rome, and gave birth to the struggle which continued for half a century, and the bull of Ganganelli, which, fifty years after, decided the fate of the jesuits, are the two first documents of the revolution produced in the religious faith of France. Two parties, one of them the natural friend, the other the implacable enemy, of the court of Rome, hostile to each other, were each in turn irritated to the last degree, by these bulls, against the sovereign pontiff; and the consequences of these measures threw the conclave into that state of discredit and desertion in which we have found it under the reign of Pius VI. What else could be expected for a state who knew neither how to mitigate the rigour of her enemies nor to retain the kindness of her friends, and who gave to each of

them, indiscriminately, the most mortal wound or the most unpardonable offence * ?

* Such is the destiny of revolutionary governments, and Rome has been in a state of revolution during the whole eighteenth century. The alternate succession of her pontiffs, devotees, or philosophers, and the contradiction of her bulls, now yielding to the importunity of the pious, and now to the enlightened, have thrown her into her present position, and have influenced the destinies of all Europe in consequence of her intimate connexion with the constitution of all the catholic states. She has felt, and she must feel, the agitation reserved for states which are torn by the violence of opposite factions. She has given into the snare of her enemies in spite of her prudence and her ancient discernment, which were the foundations of the respect so long entertained for her. Her fate has been the counterpart of that of France, mystified for ten years by England, a state which, deeply read in the art of government and the direction of the metaphysical parties which characterise her, amuses herself from the retreat of her isle with the desolation she has brought down upon France, and which she would bring down upon all Europe, if her power were equal to the malignity of her intentions. I do not speak of the English nation, but of five or six individuals, the scourge of my country, and of the respected and generous nation to which they belong; at the head of which is the son of lord Chatham, who rules her councils, under the auspices of the gentle and easy tempered George III.

CHAP. III.

Religious Reforms in Tuscany.—The Court of Rome assailed by the Court of Naples.—The Marquis de Carraccioli introduces the reforming Projects of the French Philosophy into Naples.—Views of Maria Theresa in the Marriage of the Archduchess with Ferdinand King of Naples—This Princess alienates the King from his Family—The Compact of the Bourbons is rejected—She is detested at Naples—The Count Corani's Portrait of this Princess—Projects attributed to her by Corani—Remarkable Character of the Views of the Archduchess.

THE struggles that existed in Rome between the reigns of Benedict XIV. and Clement XIII., of Clement XIII. and Ganganelli, the agitations of the two parties, each according to the bent of its affection, in the conclave, in regard to the choice of a pope, manifested themselves in different forms under the reign of Lewis XVI. between the courts of Vienna, Tuscany, and Naples, against Pius VI. The discontent of the house of Bourbon against Clement XIII. was adopted also by the house of Austria; and Joseph II. only waited for the death of the pious Maria Theresa, his mother, to reinforce the at-

tacks, which had been begun at Florence and Naples by his brother Leopold and by his sister, married to Ferdinand, whom she governed, against Pius VI.

The archduke Leopold, great duke of Tuscany, from the first year of the reign of Pius VI. and of Lewis XVI., had subjected the ecclesiastical portion of his states to the same contributions as the rest of his subjects. Two years after he contested with Pius the sovereignty of Urbino. Leopold was the first sovereign who had openly despised the alliance of the altar and the throne, and the first also who experienced the natural effects of such a sentiment. In Ricey, bishop of Pistoia, he found a prelate of reforming principles, daring, impetuous, a personal enemy of the pope, of the court of Rome, of the cardinals, of the monastic institutions, of processions, and of pilgrimages. Ricey was the Fauchet of Tuscany, and Leopold let him loose against Pius VI. In a few years the most confirmed and daring jansenism prevailed in all the dominions of the Medicis family. The house of Austria had secretly favoured and supported it in France, and at this period propagated it in Tuscany, and to the very extremities of Italy. This profound and wily power has avoided public demonstrations in this respect;

and the mask is not yet entirely stripped from her views and political doctrine.

In the mean while the pope was assailed from all parts. The episcopal assemblies of Tuscany weakened the authority of the head of the universal church. Carraccioli, the celebrated pupil of d'Alembert, pushed the reformation to the very foot of Etna, and destroyed the tribunal of the inquisition in Sicily. The well-known *haquenée*, an homage that, under the Roman power, had been observed for centuries, was every year disputed; and Joseph II., who beheld with delight the preludes to the reformation he was silently projecting, secretly stimulated the proceedings to prepare a more effectual eruption.

Such was the situation of Italy, relatively to the Roman worship, suffering the daily attacks of either the jansenists or the philosophers, who had passed into it from the interior of France. The interests of the house of Bourbon were, at the same time, exposed in Italy to insults of another kind. Under the prosperous reigns of this house, France had established one of its branches in Spain, from which others had sprung and reached as far as Italy. Maria Theresa was jealous of this heir of the ambition of the house of Austria, and of its projects on Italy: she had promised herself, during the course of a pro-

found peace, the means of re-conquering, by stratagem, this beautiful country. To weaken, in the subjects of the sovereign pontiff, the religious ties that bound the Romans to his authority, to give to the court of Naples an archduchess, who, in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, might imitate the conduct of Maria Antoinetta in France, were her preparatory measures. Unfortunate princesses! victims of the ambition of the house of Austria! The first finished her life by the most deplorable catastrophe; and the second is at this moment a wanderer and a fugitive in Europe, in consequence of her conduct in the Two Sic[illegible]. Trained in the school of the able Maria Theresa at Vienna, resolved never to forget that she had to act at Naples the part her sister was acting in the court of Lewis XVI., that of protecting the interests of her family; affecting to consider Ferdinand her husband as a prince of the house of Bourbon, and the city of Naples as a property which of old had belonged to the house of Austria, and not yet fully secured to her husband; skilful to discover ministers devoted to her will, to maintain them in office, to defend them, and to fill them with alienation from the court of Madrid, the main stock of the Neapolitan branch of the house of Bourbon; she succeeded in detaching the heart of

her husband from the family compact, the principal resource of the descendants of Lewis XIV. So much was she devoted to her brother Joseph, the only divinity that she adored.

This conduct of Caroline queen of Naples, and the urgent precautions of the house of Austria, in its treaties with France, for preserving to itself its rights upon Italy, served to develope its views on this ancient inheritance, of which it had been dispossessed by the policy and valour of the house of Bourbon. It was owing to the firmness of Charles king of Naples, at his accession to the crown of Spain, that Austria did not recover this ancient domain in virtue of the reversionary clauses ingeniously introduced by Maria Theresa in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and which she had caused to be again inserted in that of 1758, which fully proves, that Austria has not lost sight of the project of a new establishment in the heart of Italy.

All those facts explain a perfidy on the part of the duke of Choiseul that has been but little known. This faithful adherent of the house of Austria, devoted to the interests of Maria Theresa, could not be ignorant that there was born in 1750 an heir to the states of Modena in the person of a princess, and in 1751 a son to Don Philip; and the subsequent marriage of

these two children, together with the union of their respective principalities, naturally formed possessions of consideration, and which intersected those of the house of Austria in Italy. The duke of Choiseul, instead of forwarding the interests of his master, devoted himself to those of the court of Vienna; and the marriage was concluded, in 1771, in favour of the archduke Ferdinand.

The attachment of the queen of Naples to the principles and to the interests of her house did not suffer this princess to enjoy the pleasures and prerogatives of rank in tranquillity. If we are to believe the count Gorani, an Italian nobleman and a malcontent, who compares this princess to Maria Antoinetta, "she is guilty of all the crimes of Mary de Medicis; she abhors the Neapolitans, and equally governs and despises her husband; she is prodigal of the treasures of the kingdom, and has always indulged herself in illicit amours. The manners, character, and habits, of the king of Naples, have a great resemblance to those of Lewis XVI. It has sometimes happened, on the queen's offending him seriously, that he has struck her on the face; but, notwithstanding this, Ferdinand is a prince of a good natural temper, attached to truth and the public good, a good father, a good husband, however violent

in his resentment in regard to the faults of the queen, who incessantly watches and subdues him."

To these reproaches Gorani adds some of a still deeper hue. He imputes to her projects and endeavours in the intention of cutting off the succession of male children to the crown, for the sake of preserving the reversionary rights of the house of Austria to the kingdom of Naples. He accuses Maria Antoinetta of the design of restoring to Joseph, Alsace and Lorraine; and he adds, that Caroline prefers the interests of Austria to those of her own children.* "Governed by her hatred towards her male children, an hatred which she does not even take pains to conceal, she punishes on them as a crime the merest indiscretion. Cruel and imperious, she devotes them to misery from the moment of their birth, and the king is apprised of her intentions. The same hands which bestow caresses on the young princesses deal furious blows on the princes, whose only crime is that of being of a sex which thwarts her views. Those corrections and sufferings, inflicted at so early an age, have been the means of injuring their health. Naturally delicate and morbid from hardships, those unfortunate children languish in a condition of decay. The prince-royal has been so often ill-treated as to

tremble at the voice of his mother. When this unhappy prince died, the king abandoned himself to the deepest grief, though his gradual decline ought to have prepared him for the event. The queen, on the contrary, did not even take the trouble to feign the smallest regret." What a lesson for the house of Austria is contained in the fates of the queens of France and Naples! Both the one and the other had nearly the same enemies among foreign powers; both the one and the other had drawn on themselves the hatred of the same factions in the interior of the two kingdoms, previous to the French revolution. The count de Vergennes secretly pursued each of them with equal violence. The court of Spain, and its embassadors in Naples, could not endure that an archduchess should carry her temerity and the abuse of her influence to such a pitch as to alienate Ferdinand from the family compact, which, doubling the power of the house of Bourbon, in the same proportion weakened the house of Austria. The states of Venice, of Sardinia, and Genoa, satisfied with the expulsion of the emperor from the territory of Naples, could not support with tranquillity this preponderance of a princess whose projects evidently tended to change the political system of Italy. The Neapolitan party, in opposition in the interior of the state with the

remains of the ancient Austrian party and the zealots, united against the archduchess, who was forming factions inimical and dangerous to the inclinations and the religion of the country; and in a short time she was as much detested and pursued in the kingdom of Naples as her sister was at Paris. In the two nations, the same complaints, the same diplomatic interests, the same resentments towards foreign powers, the same errors in the two queens, the same opinion on the pre-eminence of their birth over that of all the princes of the universe, produced at Paris and at Naples a similar effect, and will ever produce them wherever there may be archduchesses of similar character, views, and affections. The petty states and subaltern powers remained in sufferance, and especially after the partition of Poland. Wherever Austria shall govern either by herself or by her archduchesses, she will necessarily experience the effects of the uneasiness and apprehension she will occasion, and the consequences of the efforts of the people to shake off a yoke of such a nature; and as often as her princesses shall refuse to embrace the interests of the princes they marry, they will experience the sinister effects of resentment, calumny, and unjust persecution. And of whom should the present reigning families in Europe obtain these important truths, if the silence of

courtiers on such a subject were not supplied by the frank and faithful historian?

The conduct of queen Caroline during the French revolution multiplied her enemies. She had not profited by the example of the faults of her sister before the revolution. In Europe, no nation, excepting those whose governments are in a state of derangement, could endure that a subaltern power, fortunately preserved from a revolution, and having signed a treaty with the French republic, should dare so far to hazard its fate as to destroy such a recently concluded treaty, and that at a moment when the fleet of Nelson had gained a victory. No power but England could approve that Caroline should disregard the interests of her husband and children, so far as to detach them from an important and paternal alliance with Spain, with whom France then existed, and hereafter will exist, in the most perfect harmony. This conduct in Caroline almost persuades one, that Gorani has sometimes declared the truth in what concerns her, and particularly in regard to her indifference towards the Neapolitan nation, towards her husband, and the interests of her children, when the object of competition happened to be those of an archduchess.

Hence proceeded the expedition of Championet, and the vindictive and republican in-

surrection he so imprudently organised in the heart of Europe, and in a state that was at a distance from the focus of republican opinions.

Hence proceeded the revolution of Naples, supported principally by princes and the highest ranks of people, whom the conduct of Caroline had excited against her; a revolution that taught astonished Europe, that it was possible, even after the example of the horrors of a revolutionary government in France, for rank to unite with the people to trample upon the authority of kings.

Hence the terrible vengeance of the archduchess upon the retreat of the French army—a vengeance for which the French royalists, the most attached to the memory of Maria Antoinetta, have blushed, and which has drawn down the reproaches of indignant Europe on a queen, who carried so far her resentment against the Neapolitan nobility, as to condemn to the horrible punishment of public whipping, many females rendered by their youth, beauty, and birth, most exquisitely interesting.

Hence the unconquerable expression of opinion from all parties in France, in censure of the unrelenting vengeance and the harsh and hateful proceedings of the court of Naples; an opinion so deeply felt, that even in the last period of our revolutionary movements we saw the royalists of the constituent assembly, whose

opinions were similar to those of the Neapolitan revolutionisers, unite and make common cause with the avowed republicans, to prevent the vengeance that might be apprehended from the counter-revolutionary royalists, and the whippings of French women in the public places of our country.

Hence the concert of Frenchmen of all principles, dispositions, and parties, to maintain the revolution of St. Cloud, and the establishment of a consulate, from which the powers of Europe might hope a pacificator, and the tempestuous furies of our different revolutions a principle of calm. Till at length England, who has appeared in this work to have been the grand mover of our troubles under Lewis XVI. as well as during the revolution, shall again succeed to disturb the silence, and, if I may so express it, the absolute harmony of our factions, as she lately attempted to do by the enterprise of the *rue St. Nicaise* *.

Hence, in fine, the resentment of the people of Naples against the government, and particularly against Caroline—a resentment so concentrated and so deep, that this princess ought never

* The translator of this work begs leave to disclaim, for himself, the ignorant calumny of M. Soulavie, in imputing to the English ministry, or nation, the contrivance of the infernal machine.

to expect to recover either the affection of her subjects, or the tranquillity of her existence, if she has the courage to resume the helm of affairs at Naples, after this double massacre of the friends of liberty and the party of the nobility.

I have carried down the portrait of Caroline to the present moment, that I might more effectually develope the effects of a character uniformly sustained from the period of her marriage with Ferdinand; that I might indicate the analogy of her policy with that of Maria Antoinetta, and show that the results were the same; and that I might afford to the ministers of the court of Vienna an instruction, which the profound Kaunitz overlooked, to wit, that the times of governing and revolutionising Europe through the medium of their archduchesses is past. Archduchesses, pious in their temper, beneficent, reserved, modest, charitable, and backward to intermeddle in public affairs, will be adored at Madrid, Naples, Turin, and throughout Germany; such as shall be of an opposite character will experience a more serious destiny. Prussia, the subordinate states, the Turks, the Swedes, the Danes, the republics of Genoa, Milan, Switzerland, and Holland, will calumniate, persecute, and impeach them. The grand-vizier, when he heard the news of

the conversion of France into a republic, uttered a diplomatical sentence, meriting the closest attention from the court of Vienna. "Good," said he, "the French republic will not intermarry with the archduchesses of Austria." The way in which count Gorani treated queen Caroline of Naples, at the commencement of the revolution, is a proof of the vehemence and sanguinary spirit with which she was regarded by the enemies of the Austrian system before the revolution.

CHAP. IV.

State of Spain and France at the Era of the Accession of Lewis XVI.—The Alliance of France and Spain augments the Force of the latter—Her Acquisitions since her Alliance with France.—Jealousy of England respecting the Augmentation of the Continental Forces of Spain.—Decline of the Maritime Power of Spain with respect to England.—Of Portugal —Of her Alliance with England—Her present Interests.

FROM the period when Spain fell under the government of the Bourbons, she became the natural ally of France, and, in reality, progressively advanced to a state of strength and prosperity beyond what she had ever enjoyed. Supported by France, she expelled the Austrian party from Madrid. Her taking away, as she did, from the German branch of the house of Austria, the kingdom of Naples, the Two Sicilies, Parma, and Placentia, is an augmentation of her power which may be compared to the most fortunate acquisitions of the greatest nations; she multiplied, after the example of France, the reigning branches of her royal family, and that at the expence of a principal power of the continent; add to which,

she had taken and retained in the last war the islands of Majorca, Minorca, &c. Thus, the intimate connexion between France and Spain, by putting a stop to the rapid decline of the Spanish nation, favoured the increase of her political importance, and enabled France to pursue her long-conceived project, of dividing, partitioning, and weakening, step by step, the house of Austria on the continent, by thus uniting the force of these two principal nations.

The result of the mutual relations between France and Spain, considered as maritime powers with reference to England, was very different. France and Spain, so much superior to the house of Austria on the continent, had been themselves, during the whole eighteenth century, in a state of decline, comparatively with England, with regard to what concerned their maritime strength.

Faithful to an extensive and well-digested plan, England has not ceased for one hundred and fifty years to do in our regard, and upon the sea, what we did in regard to Austria upon the continent. What follows will sufficiently prove the truth of this.

In the war of the Spanish succession, England acquired and retained Gibraltar. She prescribed the destruction of Dunkirk. She transferred from our scale to her own, Acadia. She obtained the

Newfoundland fishery, the nursery of her seamen. She acquired the African slave-trade, by the *assiento* treaty. She destroyed the brilliant marine of Lewis XIV.

In the war of 1740, for the Austrian succession, England, with equal success, humbled the marines of France and Spain. She had at this period three hundred ships of war, and fifty thousand regular seamen, or navigators of privateer vessels, on the ocean. She sent a fleet against Charles II., king of Naples, and ordered him to open his ports to her commerce, upon pain of having his capital laid in ashes, &c. &c.

In the seven-years-war, France lost Canada, a part of Senegal, her mercantile positions in Africa, and the marine which she had once again created. She was obliged to demolish a part of Dunkirk, and to digest the humiliation of paying the English commissary appointed to see this demolition effected. Spain lost Manilla, Florida, and the Havannah.

Such a series of maritime successes infused into France and Spain the profoundest resentment, and inspired the maritime powers with the extreme jealousy which lately broke out afresh against England in 1800, and which may be expected to be attended with the same consequences and the same dangers to the government of England which she brought upon her

allied enemies *. France and Spain were sufficiently animated against Great-Britain and her dictatorial system, at the accession of Lewis XVI., to induce them to unite and try their strength against the despot of the ocean.

It was more difficult to excite the secret resentment of the government of Lisbon: this power felt all that she had to suffer from the haughtiness of the British court; she had too much pride not to be deeply wounded by the insulting temper of the English factory established in the very heart of her dominions, which incessantly harasses the cabinet of Lisbon with its imperious and despotic complaints, in a style which all Europe knows to be so particularly the character of the British court. The treaties of commerce between the two powers have indeed reduced the Portuguese nation to the state of a mere province to Great-Britain; so that I have not met with any work on the subject of the relative interests of the courts of Lisbon and London, in whatever country it may happen to have been published, in which it is not stated, that this monarchy, formerly occupying so honourable a place in political history, is become a provincial dependency to king George III.

* See, in what follows, the article of *England*.

It is the present interest of France resolutely to break the connexion between England and Portugal. Lewis XIV. compelled the court of Madrid, at the treaty of the Pyrenees, to recognise the authority of the duke of Braganza. Portugal, therefore, continued to be sincerely attached to the court of France, as to a power the protector of her liberty and her independence. Nothing could have annihilated in the cabinet of Lisbon this sentiment of grateful attachment, but the accession of the grandson of Lewis XIV. to the Spanish throne. Portugal then saw in Lewis XIV., and his grandson, Philip V., two formidable and closely connected powers, capable of reducing the house of Braganza to its original nothingness. Terrified with this prospect, she resolved to fortify herself in that moment against the eventual speculations of the house of Bourbon, by throwing herself into the scale of the courts of Vienna and London. A century of experience has been sufficient to prove to her, how greatly her terror exaggerated the real state of the danger.

But now that France is no longer connected with the court of Madrid by the ties of blood, now that France can no longer be interested in the augmentation of the Spanish territory, but in proportion as Portugal shall persist, by an

implicit devotion to the court of London, to serve this power, our enemy, in matters fraught with the utmost injury to us, the court of Lisbon is obliged by her dearest interests to return to her ancient friendship with a power whose alliance may be more profitable to her than that of England, if she would not encounter perils too obvious to be described. Spain herself is interested to see Portugal allied to France rather than to England, as well as all the maritime powers, whose welfare so obviously dictates to them to increase the naval importance of France, which is not formidable, at the expence of Great-Britain, and to detach by degrees from England the maritime alliances with which she has been enabled to strengthen herself.

CHAP. V.

Of Turkey, relatively to the connexions of France with Austria and Russia.—Anecdotes and Conduct of M. de Vergennes at Constantinople—He animates the Turks against the victorious King of Prussia, who had gained them over to his Cause.

FRANCE perceived, some years before the death of Lewis XV., that Russia exercised an influence over Poland and Sweden destructive of her interests. She resolved to oppose the encroaching ambition of that empire, to employ the Turks as her instruments, and to communicate to them the views she entertained. Count Desalleurs, our embassador, was directed by Lewis XV. to make the proposal to the Turk; but sultan Mamhoud, indifferent and inactive of temper, gave us nothing in return but vague and uncertain hopes. M. Desalleurs died, and M. de Vergennes was sent to Constantinople to prosecute this negotiation; but nothing could rouse the Porte from the profoundness of her lethargy. Osman was then the reigning sultan; and this prince, who was, like Mamhoud, feeble and timid, could not be worked upon by any of the resources of the diplomatical science. Direct

overtures, secret intrigues, fair promises, rich presents, were tried and tried in vain. England, on the other hand, united herself with Russia, by treaties and subsidies, more intimately than ever; and Russia, in return, guaranteed to her the integrity of her German possessions.

The king of Prussia, filled with melancholy forebodings, and fearing to see his states swallowed up by this overweening and gigantic neighbour, entered into the alliance of England and Russia, and thus gave up his natural union with France; while England, by the same measure, departed from her ancient and intimate connexion with the house of Austria; and from these two operations there flowed the most complete reverse of the political system of Europe. France and Austria formed a confidential connexion. Russia was already in habits of intimacy with the court of Vienna, and she did not like to depart from her settled friendship. Her engagements therefore with the court of London ceased to be valued by her; she trampled them under foot, and engaged, as a third party, in the recent alliance of Versailles and Vienna.

The Turks were extremely jealous of this union. Already alarmed at the intimacy of two neighbouring powers, Russia and Austria, they were much more so at seeing the triple al-

liance of the king of France, the emperor, and the tzar, whom they regarded as irreconcileable. Their surprise was changed into a sentiment of bitterness, when England had persuaded them, and when they saw from the treaty, that France had not excepted the sultan from the cases in which Lewis XV. might be obliged to yield the stipulated succours to his new ally. The treaty between France and Austria was couched in such terms as to expose us to the chance of becoming the enemies of our most ancient allies the Turks.

Osman died, and Mustapha succeeded him, adopting all the suspicions and jealousies of his predeceſſor, relative to our union with the court of Vienna. Stimulated by his vizier, he betrayed on all occasions his apprehensions and distrust. It was requisite that the count de Vergennes should give him, through unauthenticated channels, an exact account of our relations with the house of Austria, and should sacredly assure him, that France would at no time be drawn by these relations into hostilities against the Porte.

In effect, the situation of the Turks in regard to France was not less singular than incomprehensible. M. de Vergennes, when he first arrived at Constantinople, at a time when the ancient diplomatical system of France was

still respected by her ministers, and rendered the foundation of her conduct, had been under the necessity of stimulating the Turks against the two imperial courts, that we might make use of them, by way of diversion, in case Russia should make war upon Prussia, which was at that time still our ally.

Now, the count de Vergennes, since the degeneracy of our diplomatical system, found himself obliged to give to his memorials to the divan a directly opposite turn: he was to induce that government to contemplate without alarm the machinations and designs of the imperial courts, and he had the address to mitigate the natural and reasonable jealousies of the Porte, by procuring for her solemn asseverations of neutrality or friendship on the part of the court of Vienna.

Under these circumstances, Frederic II. made a proud and spirited resistance to the coalition of the two empires, of France and the other powers united against him. The brilliancy of his victories allured the Ottoman Porte, she regarded this victorious prince in the light of an interesting ally; and Frederic, on his part, endeavoured to gain the Turk to his cause, by suggesting that the house of Austria, whom it was urgently his interest to humble, had arrived at the highest degree

of power. A short time after, Prussia receded from the coalition with France and Austria, and embraced principles quite contrary to those she had lately professed. The Porte was on the point of an alliance with Frederic, and meditated a diversion in Hungary in his favour, which was put a stop to by the vigilance and penetration of the count de Vergennes. He contemplated the fatal consequences that would result to Poland from such a decision on the part of the Porte, and, by his views and combinations, succeeded in maintaining the sultan in a state of neutrality favourable to France. These memorable negotiations in the history of the errors of the diplomatical proceedings towards the end of the reign of Lewis XV. plainly announce the disorder to which this prince had abandoned himself, and the situation of the count de Vergennes at Constantinople, who found himself under the necessity of alternately interesting the Porte for and against the cause of Prussia. This was the necessary consequence of the instability which Maria Theresa found means to introduce into our department for foreign affairs. England and Austria were the only powers who at any time had been dangerous to the repose of France, and by our actual imprudences provoked the augmentation of their continental

influence by the adhesion of that of Prussia, which we wished to destroy, by opposing to it the court of Vienna. Frederic found friends ready to defend him, and to support, in spite of us, our real interests, at the expence of Austria our ally; and we abused the credit we enjoyed at Constantinople, in order to bring the Porte, our ancient friend, to a state of neutrality.

After a war, that had been discreditable and ruinous to the French, a peace was concluded, in 1763, between France, Austria, England, and Prussia.

This peace, which, if sooner concluded, might have been useful to the powers who were our friends, now precipitated the Turks into the last degree of nullity and embarrassment. The tone which was afterwards assumed by Catharine II. in the affairs of the north, in regard to Sweden and Poland, so effectually awed the Porte, that, while Catharine developed in the north her system of intestine war, preparatory to the dismembering of Poland, the Porte sustained the appearance of passiveness and indifference.

At length Russia sent troops into Poland; and on this occasion the Porte roused from her profound lethargy: she declared, that peace between the Turk and Russia subsisted only

on condition that the court of Petersburg withdrew the Russian troops from the interior of Poland; and, upon her refusal, the sultan threw the resident and embassador of Catharine into confinement in the castle with seven towers.

CHAP. VI.

Of France and Prussia towards the End of the Reign of Lewis XV. and the Beginning of the following Reign.—Austria raises in France, against Frederic, an uninterrupted Succession of Enemies, to whose Elevation in the Ministry she had contributed.—Character of Lewis XV. the reverse of that of Frederic.—The House of Austria enters into the Interests of that of Brandenburg before the Partition of Poland, and rejects France.—State of France and Prussia at the Beginning of the Reign of Lewis XVI.

THE position of the king of Prussia, in regard to France, was that of a prince who by nature was intended for a friend, who had been considered as such in the propitious times of Lewis XV.; but, by our subsequent diplomacy, degraded and sold to Maria Theresa, as much our enemy as his, was regarded as a dangerous prince, whose alliance it was proper to avoid, whose ambition it was necessary to restrain, and who, by the marriage of Lewis XVI. with Maria Antoinetta, seemed definitively removed at a distance from us for a long time.

Frederic had seen France armed for his support, and prepared to give stability to the Prussian monarchy, in 1741; and he saw in 1756 France armed and confederated for the annihilation of his throne. This immortal prince had performed at Berlin every thing that a king of France could desire; and now, since the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, he had to contend there with the ministers and principal persons instigated by Austria to oppose him. He had seen madame de Pompadour form a party at Versailles against him; and he had combated the sagacity of the abbé Bernis, minister for the foreign department, who had negotiated and ratified the treaty, the object of which was to annihilate his monarchy. The unexpected death of the dauphin, subverting the plans of policy favourable to Prussia, called immediately to the crown, after Lewis XV., his grandson, destined to marry one of the archduchesses, carefully instructed in the principles of the house of Austria.

To the abbé Bernis had succeeded Choiseul-Stainville and Choiseul-Praslin, his bitterest enemies; and now an archduchess, prepared for the purpose, began to assume over the young king an influence not less formidable to the house of Brandenburg than to France itself. In fact, from the time of the peace of

1748, Frederic had had to deal in France with an uninterrupted series of powerful personages, leagued and animated against him, without being able to find a single friend.

Besides, Lewis XV. had many qualities that were in direct opposition to those of Frederic the Great. Lewis was a Roman-catholic, and scrupulously religious: Frederic made an open profession of atheism. Frederic was ambitious to enlarge his dominions: the ambition of Lewis was originally nothing, or was extinguished. Frederic called around him a circle of philosophers: Lewis shut them up, in the prisons of the Bastille or Vincennes. Frederic pensioned the infidels of France: Lewis refused them admission into his academies. Frederic had published satyrical stanzas against Lewis XV., recording to posterity the indecorous orgies of the *parc au cerf:* and Lewis directed the duke de Choiseul to hint to the author of a famous ode, the halberts of the king of Prussia. Frederic had a turn of mind audacious, peremptory, and enterprising; by the extent and activity of his genius he had metamorphosed an inferior monarchy into a state ranking itself with the first powers of Europe: Lewis had not the energy requisite to the direction of a powerful monarchy ready formed to his hands. The armies of Lewis,

combined with those of Austria, Russia, Sweden, Saxony, and the empire, had not been able to humble Frederic: and Frederic, without a single continental ally, had, by his valour and resources, defeated the whole power of Europe combined against him. Thus the characters of Lewis and Frederic were in direct hostility to each other, with this exception, that Frederic, as to us, stood in a situation purely defensive; while France was at once in a state of uninterrupted hostility against herself, as well as against this celebrated monarch; for Lewis had armed his subjects against the strongest and most urgent interests of their country.

From the period of the dishonourable peace signed by France in 1763 with England and Prussia, to the accession of Lewis XVI., the court of Versailles had done nothing definitively to effect an alliance with the victorious Frederic. The court of Vienna had conducted itself artfully and ably. Maria Theresa, to conciliate the friendship of France, had bestowed on madame de Pompadour the epithets of *her cousin* and *her friend.* Joseph II., to gain the friendship of Frederic, had carried the language of flattery so far as to make this prince the subject of his constant eulogiums, and of servile imitation in

his personal conduct. France was no longer of any importance to the court of Vienna, when the latter strove to derive advantages from Berlin, and when the two Germanic courts concurred to rob us of our alliance with Poland, and to partition between them that ancient republic.

CHAP. VII.

Of France and Poland, at the Close of the Reign of Lewis XV. and the Commencement of the Reign of Lewis XVI.—The Duke of Choiseul faithfully discharges the Arrears of the French Subsidy to the Court of Vienna, who makes use of them to destroy in Poland the French Party, and the Existence of that Republic.—Fruitless Supplications of the French Party in Poland to induce us to defend that Country against the Insults of the partitioning Powers.—Dishonourable old Age of Lewis XV.—The French Party in Poland massacred.—Anecdotes of the Austrian Legation to Paris upon that Subject.—Style of the Manifestoes of the different Powers.

HAD the duke of Choiseul not sought, in the unquestionable interests of the court of Vienna, the source of her operations, he might easily have prevented the disasters of this unfortunate republic. General Mokronosky, head of the French party, constantly represented, to our government, the Polish nation jealous of her independence, and disposed to the last extremities to defeat the intrigues of the court of Petersburg. If, at the moment that the French party was formed under the appellation of *the confederates of Bar*, sufficient pecuniary supplies had been judiciously distributed, every corner of the republic would have started up in arms, and

been enabled to prevail upon Sweden and Turkey to aid a cause so interesting to the human species. Austria and Prussia would not then have united themselves with Catharine, to despoil the republic, and to leave no other alternative to t' e unhappy people, but either to perish by fire and sword, or to surrender themselves to slavery. But M. de Choiseul owed his existence, his fortune, and his power, to his devotion to the court of Vienna, and was therefore desirous of doing every thing in France to oblige his creators: the more, therefore, general Mokronosky multiplied his memorials, the duke of Choiseul devoted himself to supineness and inaction. From time to time he expressed himself with paroxysms of fury against the secret correspondence of his sovereign, who communicated the clearest intelligence of the ascendancy of the court of Auſtria in the Polish provinces, and the checks that were received by the confederates of the patriotic party dependent upon France. The delays and subterfuges opposed by Vienna, neutralised the efforts, defeated the interests, and baffled the intentions of Lewis XV. But if the late king, instead of drawing out a disgraceful old age amidst the gross and dishonourable pleasures of the *parc au cerf*, had declared, before it was yet too late, to every surrounding court, that France, long the

asylum of kings, and the protector of nations in a state of adversity, could not witness with indifference any insult done to the independence of Poland, he would have drawn over by the generosity of his sentiments, and the liberality of his policy, all the powers not immediately interested in the partition of Poland. Even Prussia and Austria would no longer have lent an ear of favour to the ambition and unprincipled projects of Catharine. The general of the Polish confederates at Bar asked from the duke of Choiseul no more than 200,000 livres per month, to raise all Poland in arms against her invaders.

Choiseul played a part similar to that which has since been played by Maria Antoinetta. Faithful to his engagements with the court of Vienna, he paid in the remainder of a subsidy of sixty millions still due to that power. The duke of Choiseul made a merit with the Austrian government of furnishing to them with punctuality the sums which they employed in the subjugation of Poland. At the same time, *the confederation of Bar*, cut off from the assistance of France, was never able to raise itself to the respectable condition which its general desired to bestow upon it, or to show itself at once in a sympathetic and spontaneous direction against its different invaders, from Prussia, from Russia, and from Austria. All that occurred was the partial rising

of a few great lords, which the Russian army, composed of a people half savage, and of a general still more savage than those he commanded, subdued and crushed one after the other, changing this unfortunate country into an ambulatory slaughter-house, even to the incredible and entire destruction of every thing in which remained the feeling of a genuine Pole, or a sentiment of loyalty and adherence to the party of France. Austria, hypocritical and sanctified in the language she employed at Paris, hypocritical and sanctified at Warsaw, declaring, by her embassador at the court of Versailles, that all she did was in the spirit of precaution and security, and protesting she would restore all she took possession of, when the other partitioning powers did the same, probably would not have dared in the face of Europe, and the canting morality she was accustomed to employ, to exercise, as she did, the robberies, murders, and devastation, of which Catharine too faithfully afforded her the example.

In effect, the partition was already consummated, when the count de Merci, in notifying the event to Lewis XV., had recourse to all the arts of persuasion, dissimulated repentance, and the wretched circumlocutions of duplicity, uniting itself with impudence. He protested to the duke of Aiguillon, that the danger to which the

Austrian detachments would be exposed, in singly opposing themselves to the arms of Russia and Berlin, was the only motive which had ultimately persuaded their imperial majesties to concur in the dismemberment of Poland. Merci owned, that the court of Vienna was thoroughly sensible of the injustice of the measure; adding, that it was for the purpose of diminishing the calamities attendant upon it, that his sovereign had consented to enter into the nefarious project, the better to set bounds to the excesses of the other two powers. He further observed, that the share which Austria took to itself was so inconsiderable, that he could not see without alarm the glaring inclination of the balance in favour of Petersburg and Berlin. He excused the silence of the court of Vienna with respect to us, by enforcing certain recriminatory statements to the duke of Aiguillon, complaining, that he had entered into secret connexions with Prussia, that he had declared to M. de Sandos, that France would preserve the strictest neutrality respecting the fate of Poland, and that certain confidential communications had passed between us and Frederic, which that prince had privately laid open to their imperial majesties. Hence Maria Theresa and her son had concluded, that, no longer able to confide in the friendship of the court of France, they were under the necessity of employing precautions of their own against a

a storm to which they alone would be exposed.

It was thus that Maria Theresa, our particular friend, our faithful ally, the mother of Maria Antoinetta, excluded us alone from the mediation and the partition, and added derision to her perfidy. She treated us just in the same manner as the Swedes or the Turks, or any petty electorate, powerless and unnerved in comparison of Austria, and condemned, like us, to remain inactive spectators of the destruction of their neighbour, and the butchery of the Poles, that so the conquest and dismemberment of that country might be carried on undisturbed.

The conduct of Frederic at least may be acquitted; it was consequent and analogous to the absurd and frantic conduct which France held towards him. He had entered into no stipulation with us, and was bound to no decorum with the Polish republic. He might act as his interest prompted, without giving France a right to complain. He might say to us: "In 1741 you did all you could to maintain me in possession of Silesia. In 1758, you did all you could to take it from me, and to change my title of king into the simple title of marquis. The disposition of nature, and the dictates of your own interests, have marked you out for my friends and allies. Your recent proceedings

have shown me, that a principal object of your pursuit is my destruction. Permit me, therefore, to do for myself every thing that I am able to do, to preserve me from the effects of your versatile and inexplicable policy."

Meanwhile, Maria Theresa, the mother-in-law of Lewis XVI., and one of his principal allies, felt no stimulus but that of encroaching ambition. She employed the millions recently paid from the arrears of our subsidy, in the massacre of our own party at Warsaw, and promised Maria Antoinetta, her daughter, at Versailles, to ruin all the ministers who were devoted to the ancient and salutary politics of the French government.

The house of Austria has paid dear for a few years of unauthorised influence exercised by her, to the prejudice of France, during the reign of Maria Antoinetta at Versailles. If she has ruined our alliance with the Poles, which had existed so many years; if Austria and the co-partitioning powers have augmented their military strength in the north, numerically, commercially, and federatively; if France was degraded under the feeble Lewis XV. from the rank to which she was so justly entitled, first by the intrigues of the duke of Choiseul, and then by the direction of Maria Antoinetta; if she remained for so long a time an inactive spectator of the injuries done to our friends and the

influence to which we are entitled in the political balance of Europe, she has however avenged herself: she has made the Rhine the limit of her territory, and she will maintain that limit in spite of all opposition.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Austria and France, at the End of the Reign of Lewis XV., and at the Commencement of that of his Successor.—Slights expressed by the Court of Vienna towards the Court of Versailles, her Ally.—Inclination of Lewis XV. to return to the Alliance with Prussia—He employs a secret Correspondence for that Purpose.

IT is impossible to write the diplomatical history of France, from the confederacy of 1756 with Maria Theresa, without encountering on all sides the fatal effects of a treaty, which forces the historian, at every moment, to contrast the insidious address of Austria with the interests of his country. Maria Theresa proposed to herself, that every thing, times, seasons, commissions, titles, personages, should be her abettors in reducing France from her ancient rivalship to a state of abject subordination to the court of Vienna. For this purpose she must put in chains a nation brave, generous, warlike, and that for thirty years had uninterruptedly supported the most brilliant rank in the scale of European powers.

The petty courts of Germany and Italy terrified to find themselves deprived of the pro-

tection of France, were overwhelmed with despair at the abjectness of our diplomatical character. These courts, with their inherent weakness, and Frederic with his frank and intrepid mode of expression, permitted themselves to call France the copyhold of the house of Austria; an insult of the grossest nature, which France in the brighter season of her independence and her pride would as little have suffered as deserved.

The court of Vienna, which desired our alliance only for the purpose of expending our treasure and our blood for her aggrandisement, nevertheless grew cool respecting us, towards the end of the reign of Lewis XV. In proportion as the means of feeding her ambition diminished in France, Maria Theresa became reserved and mysterious. Our alliance producing no more to the Austrian coffers after the payment of the arrears, lost its attractions. "She explained herself," said prince Lewis of Rohan, our embassador at the court of Vienna, "in the clearest and most unmeasured terms, upon the derangement of our finances, and the impossibility of supporting a war, if the allies were attacked. The old king trembled with alarm. In London he saw a cabinet, that for centuries had cried out with vehemence, *Delenda est Carthago!* In Russia he saw another cabinet, which M. de

Choiseul had filled with animosity, by exciting the Turks to oppose it in a moment of embarrassment. At Berlin, Frederic proclaimed his contempt, and was inexhaustible in his sarcasms. At Vienna, Maria Theresa, after having first abused our confidence, at last displayed her disgust and rejection; while in her son Joseph II. it was impossible not to remark an unmeasured ambition, capable of every species of unauthorised aggression. Prince Lewis received orders to leave no stone unturned at Vienna to penetrate the projects of the mother and her son. The cardinal indeed was better fitted by nature to discover than to defeat the machinations of the court of Vienna, which was now full of coolness and reserve towards France, and of passionate attachment towards Prussia and Russia, without France having the power to defeat this coalition by proposing equivalent unions, tied up as she was by the treaty of 1758.

All Europe stood astonished to see three powers, naturally enemies to each other, Prussia, Russia, and Austria, unite their forces to annihilate a nation for their own advantage, against which they had no allegation, except that it was weak, and distracted with intestine divisions, which were principally derived from a Russian cabal. England, so interested to prevent the establishment of the Prussian autho-

rity in Dantzic, was as much surprised at what she saw as the rest of Europe or France. For ages past, the great powers of the civilised world had distressed and ruined themselves to prevent their respective aggrandisements. Now, a different system of political morals assumed the sway. One state felt itself prompted to make itself master of such territories as lay convenient to its views, while other states were induced to allow this with impunity, and to express no jealousy.

It was not that Lewis XV., who was naturally clear sighted enough as to the interests of his crown, was unaware of the mire in which he was sinking. He desired to return to his ancient alliance with the court of Berlin; a part of his administration desired it too; and baron Breteuil was ordered to open a negotiation for that purpose at the Hague with baron Thurlumayer, the envoy of Frederic; but the king did not venture any attempt to break loose from the guardianship of the court of Vienna, but through the medium of his secret correspondence. The duke of Choiseul, the argus of Maria Theresa, was still all-powerful at Versailles; and the baron Breteuil, charged by the king to renew an understanding with Frederic, and by the duke of Choiseul to respect every existing treaty, followed only the directions of the latter, and showed himself inca-

pable of producing, with the assistance of the secret correspondence, the revolution as to alliances which the king appeared to desire.

The terror of France in her present state of extreme debility was by so much the better founded, as the king had discovered, by means of his secret correspondence, and by the assiduity of M. de Vergennes, embassador at Stockholm, that Prussia and Austria had signed a secret convention, by which France and Sweden were excluded from the guarantee of the peace of Westphalia, to which they were entitled; while the emperor assumed, to a degree of absurdity, a slavish imitation of the manners and principles of the king of Prussia, for whom, he said, he was impressed with the profoundest veneration. With the strength of this secret convention, Prussia and Austria had nothing to restrain them through the whole north of Europe. They had but to choose what injury to do us; to will was to perform. The house of Austria saw our embarrassment, our alarms and our jealousies, and often appeared desirous to dissipate our anxieties; but France, conscious of her weakness, ventured not to trust to the protestations of the cabinet of Vienna; so fully had the partition of Poland convinced her of the insincere and treacherous mind of Maria Theresa, our ally.

Add to this, that the court of Austria, which

never allowed itself to suppose, that, in depopulating Poland and appropriating its provinces, she had infringed her alliance with France, did not cease to assure us that she was anxious to preserve a perfect understanding with France, provided we would allow her to proceed unquestioned with the execution of her plans. Yet, instead of being really our ally, as she was officially bound to be by the treaty between us, that so we might harmoniously share the preeminence which such a coalition would procure for the two powers, she thought of nothing but turning the treaty to her own profit, at the same time that she ought to have cordially divided the preponderance, and advanced with friendly and equal steps; as Joseph II. was so ready to prove, when it was to his purpose to maintain the alliance, and to reduce us to the station of benevolent spectators of his projects upon the Turks, upon Bavaria, respecting the opening of the Scheld, and the other operations of his romantic administration; during the process of which, aided by his sister at Paris, he reduced France to play the insignificant part of a German elector or a king of Sardinia.

CHAP. IX.

Embassy of Prince Lewis, afterwards Cardinal de Rohan, to the Court of Vienna—He penetrates the Cabals of Austria and Prussia—He establishes Intelligences in the Heart of the Court of Vienna—He prevents the Union of Austria and Russia against the Porte—He discovers the Intelligences maintained by the Court of Vienna in the Interior of the Court and Cabinet of France—He gains a secret Correspondence in the Cabinet of Prince Kaunitz, who finds himself obliged to change the Locks and Keys of his own Green Boxes and Port-folios—He obtains a Sight of the French Correspondences, intercepted by Austria, and intercepts the Austrian Correspondence.—Character of the Councils of Maria Theresa.

THERE remained nothing to France, terrified at this extraordinary coalition, but the impotent curiosity of a feeble nation, which expects to become, in its turn, the victim of the vanquisher. The house of Austria had succeeded so far as to gain a knowledge of our political dispatches from the north and from the south; but prince Lewis de Rohan, our embassador, skilful and accomplished in bed-chamber intrigues, paid the court of Vienna in its own coin, and produced copies of the confidential letters of the empero to the king of Prussia, and of prince Kaunitz to count Mercy, embassador of Maria Theresa at

Versailles. In a word, these two courts, at the close of the reign of Lewis XV., spent prodigious sums, not for the purpose of becoming better friends, but to watch, detect, and surprise, each other, particularly on the subject of the affairs of Poland.

Prince Lewis, afterwards cardinal de Rohan, arrived, by the ingenuity of his artifices, at extensive and astonishing discoveries. He had sent home to the court of France the secret papers relative to the interviews of Frederic and Joseph II. at Neiss and at Neustadt, which he purchased for sums of money skilfully applied. Prince Kaunitz, who carried on the same policy at Versailles, at length traced the very source of this treachery, and caused one of his clerks to be privately drowned in the Danube. Prince Lewis, undisturbed at this catastrophe, bribed other clerks in prince Kaunitz's office, and even gained to his party certain individuals personally in the service of the empress and her son. He discovered the almost ripened confederacy of Austria and Russia against the Porte; and France had the happiness, through his means, of preventing the disasters prepared for our ally. Prince Lewis further intercepted the letters of prince Kaunitz to count Mercy, the Austrian embassador at the court of France, and by this mean was informed, that copies of his own

letters to the duke of Aiguillon were repeatedly in the hands of the Austrian government. Count Mercy gained to his party, by bribes, certain traitors in the court of Lewis, and in the offices of his secretary of state, who were base enough to prefer the pecuniary *douceurs* of prince Kaunitz, to the sentimental satisfaction which every good Frenchman experiences in the fidelity and singleness of his heart. Lewis XV., exasperated at the circumstance, ordered every one of his ministers, *separately*, to express to him in writing *their suspicions*, that he might thus discover the traitor concealed in his court.

Prince Lewis was not less successful in obtaining copies of the correspondence of prince Kaunitz with the Austrian embassador at St. Petersburg; and was therefore equally informed of what was going on with Catharine II. When these copies got to Versailles, count Mercy, informed of the circumstance, advertised Maria Theresa of it; and prince Kaunitz, in the utmost perplexity, as prince Lewis informed his employers, had fresh locks put upon his cabinet, confiding to his secretary alone the trust of the most secret dispatches. These diplomatical anecdotes may suffice to show what jealousy and mistrust existed between the two courts of Vienna and Versailles, during the administration of the duke of Aiguillon, and explain the an-

tipathy of Maria Antoinetta to this nobleman when she became queen of France.

On the 10th of January 1774, prince Lewis signified to his court, that prince Kaunitz had succeeded in purchasing the cypher of his correspondence with the king, and with our embassadors at Constantinople, Stockholm, Dantzic, and Petersburg. He did not stop here; he proved to Lewis XV. that the court of Vienna had the secret cypher of all the dispatches between the duke of Aiguillon and our ministers in every court of Europe. To leave no doubt on the subject, he accompanied his intelligence with an extract of the letters of the duke of Aiguillon to Berlin, Munich, Dresden, and Petersburg, together with their respective answers. He learned, that the points of interception were at Liege, Brussels, Frankfort, Ratisbon; and that the mechanism of our cyphers were so fully known to the decypherers of Vienna, that it cost them no trouble to transcribe our dispatches, at full, into French. "In my cabinet," said prince Lewis, "I read all the correspondences I have just been speaking of; I learn all the secrets our ministers so studiously conceal from me in their letters; it was there I discovered, and revealed in a private letter, conveyed to the king by the prince of Soubise, that count Broglio had, even with the king's permission, continued in

secret and confidential correspondence, during his exile, with M. Durand at Petersburg, and with other ministers. To this letter were annexed the cyphers that had been used..... Ever since these fortunate discoveries, which were instantly communicated to our ministry, I have not ceased to insist on the cyphers being changed: I continue, without any infallible channel, for conveying the secret information I wish to transmit to Constantinople, Stockholm, and Petersburg*. All prince Kaunitz's dispatches, as well as those of foreign princes that are intercepted, pass through the hands of what are denominated here *the cabinet of the decypherers*. Baron Pichler has the direction of them, and all measures relating to them are concerted between him and the empress, to whom alone he gives an account of their success. This director delivers to her five copies, one for the emperor, one for the grand duke of Tuscany, the eventual successor to the Austrian monarchy, one to the prince de Staremberg at Brussels,

* The author of these Memoirs, while writing this chapter, sent to Charles de la Croix, then minister, a cypher, extending merely to the proper names of countries, seas, ministers, and personages, of whom it might be necessary to speak. This cypher is so contrived, as to vary with every successive dispatch, with every paragraph, and with every sentence, if desired, so as to puzzle and defeat the sagacity of all the decypherers in Europe, by the incessant changeableness of its characters.

who was to succeed prince Kaunitz, and one to count Rosemberg, who was in the secret. Each of these sent back his copy to the empress, with marginal notes, which, combined and discussed, furnished grounds for further projects and resolutions. When the empress wishes to put any proposition to the emperor, of which she does not choose to be thought the author, she either *adds* or *retrenches* whatever may be necessary for that purpose in the intercepted dispatches."

It appears, by the minutes of prince Lewis of Rohan, our embassador at Vienna (of the 4th of July 1774), delivered to Lewis XVI., that the two courts of Austria and Versailles, from the accession of Lewis XVI. to the crown, continued to observe each other with so much distrust, that the influence of Maria Antoinetta on the mind of the young king, just seated on the throne, was not sufficient to give security to the views of the court of Vienna. The two courts, towards the end of the reign of Lewis XV., had spent prodigious sums, not for the purpose of effecting their alliance, but for discovering the views of each upon the other. However, the exile of the duke of Aiguillon, and the recall of prince Lewis, afforded strong testimonies to Vienna of the king's intentions, and of his desire to be in amity with Maria Theresa. He resolved to suffer the

destruction of the French party in Poland, which was now dispersed by fire and sword, by Austria, Russia, and Prussia. The choice, however, of the count de Vergennes, in opposition to the duke of Choiseul, left some degree of doubt in the mind of this princess. From the time of his nomination to that of his death, the courts of Vienna and Berlin did not cease to oppose him; the first, because he was adverse to her interests; and the last, because he did not ostensibly attach himself to her.

At this time the court of France was willing to know the extent of the reciprocal ambition and fidelity among the three powers who had shared Poland. Maria Theresa, on her part, desired to learn how much we should be disposed to endure, without complaining of her ambitious encroachments. Each of the two courts knew that its letters were intercepted by the agent of the other. An hundred editors of newspapers, or modern historians, have related, that the court of France was ignorant of the partition of Poland till the moment of its consummation. They attributed the hatred of the queen towards cardinal Rohan exclusively to a letter written by him in terms unfavourable to this princess; but his disgrace was not owing entirely to this letter, but also to his having learned, by intercepted papers or the infidelity of

Austrian clerks, that Maria Antoinetta at Versailles leaned as much as ever towards the Austrian interests, and that her hatred of the duke of Aiguillon proceeded from his having confessed his knowledge of this to the young king, in the course of cabinet affairs. The king felt an incessant distrust towards the queen, who never could forgive cardinal Rohan and the duke of Aiguillon. The court of France was therefore in want of no information respecting the disasters of Poland. Count Broglio, chief of the secret correspondence, announced in 1760 every thing that happened seven years after, even the partition. M. de Vergennes also gave unequivocal intelligence on the subject. Broglio did not cease to point out in the party of the patriotic Poles, advocates for the independence of their country, the support of the party of France; and our cabinet was so much mistress of the subject, that, very soon after the accession of Catharine, our *chargé d'affaires* at Petersburg received secret instructions, which announced to him distinctly every thing that happened in 1767. It was also fully known through all the ministerial offices at Versailles, that the emperor was a person of an ambitious and romantic temper, and that the eternal subject of his meditations was the usurpation of certain territories in Italy, the extortion of Friuli from

the Venetians, the making round and compact his German dominions, particularly by the requisitions of Bavaria upon the death of the present elector. Cardinal Rohan paid very dear for his attachment to the house of Bourbon. As long as Lewis XV. lived, the prince of Soubise maintained him in his situation; but, no sooner was that monarch deceased, than Maria Antoinetta incessantly tormented her husband, till she obtained from him the recall of prince Lewis. Every one knows what has happened since; his whole family was involved in his disgrace; and it was owing to no lenity of the queen, if the name of Rohan was not rendered odious, dishonoured, and shameful throughout France.

Joseph II., aware of the eternal infidelity of the officers of administration, resolved to adopt an entire new method: he determined to come several times himself into France; and he also sent his brother, that thus he might negotiate without the intervention of any unnecessary persons. We shall see how the French received the head of the house of Austria, when he appeared as a traveller in France.

CHAP. X.

Sentiments of Austria upon the Subject of France after the Partition of Poland, and at the Period of the Journey of the Archduke.

AUSTRIA was not insensible that she stood, and had long stood, with regard to France, in a perilous situation. The archduke, on his arrival at Paris, gave into the hands of his sister, afterwards queen of France, a note, of which the following is the abstract and result. A few days after the arrival of Joseph, count de Vergennes forwarded a duplicate of this note to Lewis XV., with this remark, that the sole object of the archduke's journey to Versailles was to communicate certain political instructions to his sister.

"The general relations of France with the house of Austria, are those of a power which succeeded, First, in dividing this house into two branches, the Spanish and the German.

"Secondly, in alienating from the successor certain possessions of each of these branches.

"France, under the Bourbons, has incessantly pursued this plan of destruction against the

Austrian power. Since Henry IV., she has employed in the execution of this plan all the genius of her profoundest statesmen, and all the talents of her most skilful generals. Without losing an inch of ground on her part, France has successively torn from the house of Austria, in the space of two centuries, Roussillon, Bourgoyne, Alsace, Franche-Comté, Artois, Hainault-Cambresis, the kingdoms of Spain, Naples, Lorraine, Barrois, &c. &c.

"The house of Austria, then, relatively to France, has, for the last two hundred years, been in a state of decline and destruction."

CHAP. XI.

Continuation of the Picture of Europe—Of France and the Protestant Powers.—Termination of the System of Patronage in France in Favour of the Protestant Powers of Germany, by the Treaty of 1756, and by the Marriage of an Archduchess with Lewis XVI.—Frederic hence becomes the Patron of Protestantism in Germany, to our Disadvantage.—Profound Policy of the Court of France in the System of diplomatic Patronage.

THE amicable footing of France with the house of Austria, and the consummation of their alliance of 1756, by the marriage of Lewis XVI. with an archduchess, had annihilated the system of patronage, which had for centuries been observed by the French court in favour of the protestant powers of Germany.

The cabinet of the house of Bourbon, whose sublime political system is now held in disesteem by the ignorant, and styled *la vieille diplomatie*, "the antiquated diplomacy," had invariably sustained itself, till 1756, in an elevation above the influence of religious maxims and of fanaticism; so that if, on the one hand, the constitution of the state prevailed on the houses of Valois and Bour-

bon to believe, that the Roman worship was the only one suitable to the mechanism of the interior of the monarchy; on the other, the most Christian kings, the most pious, and even the most fanatical kings, were convinced, that the closest alliances with the protestant states of the empire were the natural alliances of France. The proceedings adopted in consequence of this conviction are a proof, that the cabinets of Valois and Bourbon were in this respect superior to their prejudices, and to the principles of their religion.

Reasons of prudence and security had dictated this policy to the court of France. Charles V., and his successors, exercising in Germany a gloomy and cruel authority towards the protestants, reasons of state, of great importance to France, produce in her the desire of attaching herself to the leagued protestant nations, formed against the intolerant and superstitious house of Austria. There were neither huguenots nor Mahometans in Europe to the optics of France.

What is still more remarkable, is, that our ministers the most devoted to the court of Rome, the cardinal electors of the pope, forgot, in favour of this object, that they were princes of the church. Once become ministers of state, they became also the support of the

German protestant nations, whom they opposed with success to the power and ambition of the successors of Charles V. The devout cardinal Fleury recommended to the duke of Richelieu, when he set out for Vienna in the quality of embassador to that court, the interests of the protestants of Germany. The great cardinal Richelieu, one of the authors of this system of policy, connected himself by principle, and, I may add, by sentiment, with the protestants of Germany, at the very time that he exterminated by fire and sword the protestants of Rochelle, and in my country wasted and laid in ashes the town of Privas, which he took by assault.

Since the treaty of 1756, as the reasons of this policy existed no longer, and the protestant powers saw the two principal catholic ones, France and Austria, unite themselves in the strictest bands of alliance, nothing could be more interesting, than to observe these two powers constructing anew the diplomatical edifice, and turning their attention towards the king of Prussia, necessarily in opposition to the court of Vienna, and whom the alliance of 1756 raised to the condition of the last and only supporter of the protestants of Germany. It was from this moment that the king of Prussia became, to the prejudice of our con-

tinental supremacy and our credit, the protector of the independance of Germany, the asylum of a persecuted party, and the support of the natural opponents of the house of Austria. Each of the Germanic princes, whose ancestors had at any time been put by the emperor to the ban of the empire, bestirred himself to discover the means of safety. Some, on account of his local situation, found it necessary to submit to the court of Vienna; other princes remained undecided, the victims of an intolerable terror; and all became the irreconcileable enemies of Maria Antoinetta, from the time that the policy of her mother destined her to be the argos at Versailles of a treaty which deprived them of their ancient protector. In my manuscript *History of the Rise a d Progress of Protestantism in Europe, and of its Decline in France, from the Time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz*, in three volumes octavo, which shall certainly go to the press as soon as I have dismissed the present work, I have developed the principles and the consequences of the policy of the houses of Valois and Bourbon upon this subject. It was in the collection of the papers of cardinal Richelieu, which have been handed down in his family, that I found the documents, which have enabled me so fully to

elucidate this interesting subject, and which the reserve of the French government previous to the revolution did not permit me to send to the press.

CHAP. XII.

Picture of Europe continued—Connexion of Denmark and France—Effects of the grand Alliance of 1756 upon this Power—Its Cabinet divided into two Parties; that of the Queen, and her Mother-in-Law.—Revolution—Queen brought to Trial—Nature of this Proceeding—Punishments—Divorce.—State of Sweden—Consequences of her Revolution.—Absolute Necessity of a mutual Confidence between a Government and its Subjects.—Portrait of Catharine II.—Continuation of the Affairs of the North, of Prussia, and of Switzerland.

DENMARK felt, like all the other powers of the north, the effects of the treaty of 1756. From the reign of the gallant Francis I. this crown had always been our ally; but our connexion with the court of Vienna, while it shut out the means of communication and succours, removed and disjoined the crowns of the north from France, their ancient protector. The safety of the Lower Germany was sacrificed, and the patronage of France in the heart of the weaker states annihilated. From this hour, the protestant cabinets paid court and flattery to the king of Prussia, and the king of Denmark was one of those powers who was obliged to vary his principles

with the circumstances, the better to provide for the safety of his dominions.

At the period of the convention of Closterseven, his cabinet gave proofs of this versatility, conceived and combined with as much sagacity as foresight. They gained the good graces of England by saving the duke of Cumberland's army; of France, by the kindness of their interference and mediation; of Austria and Russia, by overlooking the interests of Frederic, who appeared, by this convention, to be reduced to extremity. They afterwards made their peace with the cabinet of Berlin, which consented to forget a partiality founded upon circumstances, with equal skill.

About the period of the accession of Lewis XVI., Denmark, happy under the absolute military and paternal government of her kings, gave a spectacle to Europe. The king, on his return from a tour through different countries, found his court divided into two parties: that of Matilda of England, his consort; and that of Julia Maria, whom his father espoused in second marriage.

The animosity of the queen dowager took its date from the period of the marriage of Matilda. The queen dowager had been in strict union with Sophia Madelina, grand-mother to the king, to exclude from the throne a sister of the king of

England, who, by her charms and the elevation of her birth, might acquire an overpowering influence in Denmark. The old dowagers were out of their senses at the bare recollection of the youth and beauty of Matilda. The marriage however was concluded; and the personal qualities, the sweetness and affability of the new queen, exasperated the ill humour of the old ladies.

Matilda acquired the greatest influence, and changed the form of the state. The government of Struensee, her favourite, was displeasing to the nobility, to the discarded ministers, and above all to the queen Julia. The king fell into a state of imbecility; and his consort as well as the minister Struensee were accused of having been the authors of this infirmity, the more fully to confirm their authority. All on a sudden, the old queen obtained an order from the sovereign to shut up the young queen in a castle, possessed herself of the reins of government, and nominated a commission, or rather a royal revolutionary tribunal, to put to death Struensee and count Brandt.

The political power of which they had gained possession was the real crime of Brandt and Struensee. As to the pretext of the prosecutors, history will class it with the pretexts for the political assassinations of the French revolution. The different charges against the Danish administration were, 'designs upon the person of the

king, an improper education given to the prince royal, a project for forcing the king to resign his authority, a criminal commerce with the queen, and the political system and enormous power of Struensee."

The article relative to the education of the prince royal is of a nature to merit in the eye of philosophy a recompense instead of a prosecution. As to the political system, the party of Matilda had changed its forms without effusion of blood. Did it belong then to a queen dowager, who, by means of unheard-of violences against her daughter-in-law, overturned the government, to bring this question to trial by a special commission? The Danish monarchy was military and absolute; the king was the sole legislator of his dominions; and Julia, who by virtue of her royal mandate revolutionised the government, did not perceive in her intoxication, that the prosecutions she directed were contrary to the nature of the government she was seizing. Either the king in his present state of infirmity had understanding enough to qualify him to exercise the royal authority, and then Julia had no competency to attack the party who carried on the government under the countenance of the king; or the king was void of the requisite degree of understanding, and then Julia had taken advantage of his melancholy situation to

surprise from him an order for the imprisonment of his consort. In either case, Julia was guilty. She was so on the supposition of the complete imbecility of the king, since she was overturning a government which had the power and the right to repel an aggression on the part of a queen dowager and a malcontent opposition: she was so on the supposition that the king was in a state of competent intellect, for then she was expresslycounteracting a government vested with suitable legal authority.

The old queen objected to Matilda, that she had defiled the bed of the sovereign, and of this allegation she made against Struensee a capital crime. But supposing the charge to be true, the morality of Europe had for ages past abolished the punishment. Denmark could neither set the fashion, nor give the example, of punishing capitally the deviations of the consorts of kings, without giving the alarm to a long list of gallant European courts; particularly those of Naples, Versailles, Petersburg, &c.; and even that of Vienna.

History, beside, is bound to brand with opprobrium, however obscure be his name in other respects, one of the judges of Matilda of England. The infamous Schack, employed to interrogate the queen, or rather to confound her, to surprise her into confessions and to dictate

her replies, assured the illustrious prisoner, that Struensee had made avowals injurious to her honour and her dignity. "It is impossible," replied Matilda, "since the fact is not so, and I stedfastly deny it." The wily Schack replied to the queen, "Struensee, then, is the calumniator of his sovereign, and as such is, by the Danish laws, exposed to the punishment of death." "And if," replied Matilda, overwhelmed with stupefaction and terror, "I make the same avowal, "may he then expect to be discharged?" Schack, abusing the inexperience of the princess, assured her, that he might hope for his liberty if the queen would make an authentic declaration to that purpose, under her hand. The unfortunate Matilda took up the pen, and sunk into a fainting fit in writing the fifth letter of her name; while Schack, taking hold of her hand in this situation, terminated the rest of the subscription.

These terrible scenes flowed from the vehemence of the jealousy of two females, disputing for the reins of government under a helpless king. The divorce of Matilda was pronounced; and Brandt and Struensee each of them lost a hand and a head upon the scaffold: a party of malcontents, victorious and able to dispose of the springs of government, put to death, as was lately acted in France, a government vanquished and deprived of its functions: the daughter-in-law

fell a victim to the mother-in-law. A conduct light, imprudent, inconsiderate, perhaps a more specific deviation, led Matilda to this melancholy fate. She died in Germany a few years after. George III., her brother, had demanded her removal from Denmark to Zell.

The Danish administration blushed in the face of Europe at a victory built upon such a foundation. They studied, by the sobriety of their politics, to make these terrible scenes of a government habitually mild, and which only laid aside its character upon this tragical occasion, forgotten. The repose of Denmark, and the perpetual need in which all governments stand of being supported by the confidence of the people, exacted from the court of Copenhagen a designation of the forms of an absolute government.

The position of Gustavus III., in Sweden, proves the necessity of this mutual confidence between the governors and the governed, at the same time that it affords an example of it. From the commencement of his reign, the party of the senate, which, since the time of Charles XII., had usurped the prerogatives which that prince had abused, was so firm and assured, that, if the king had not succeeded in the revolution he meditated, the resentment of his haughty nobles would perhaps have led him to a scaffold. Madame d'Aiguillon communicated to the author

of these Memoirs a note, which proves, that M. de Vergennes, recalled from a species of exile, into which the duke of Choiseul had sent him, in Germany, and ordered into Sweden to assist Gustavus with his advice, and with the treasury of the royal revenues of France, promised, before his departure, that he would either bring the revolution to its entire consummation, or perish in the attempt to execute the orders of his sovereign.

The time for consummating the revolution was arrived, and Gustavus had yet taken no definitive measure to assure to himself the possession of the capital. The senate he had to overturn had already heard of the insurrections in Scania, and the approach of the troops that baron Sprengporten had raised on behalf of Gustavus, while this prince was still planning and deliberating.

"To-morrow," said M. de Vergennes, "the revolution must be begun—to-morrow, sire, or every thing is lost." This minister, who afterwards at Versailles exhibited a character timid, slow, and often pusillanimous, yet had courage and energy at Stockholm to battle the enemies of the young sovereign.

The revolution being resolved on, this prince wrote to M. de Vergennes the following letter. It paints the anxiety and apprehensiveness of revolutionary factions, when they are on the point

of giving the charge. "I beseech you," said Gustavus, "to testify to the king your master my gratitude for the unalterable friendship he has shown me, and to tell him, that I hope to prove myself to-morrow worthy of his fidelity and kindness. The goodness of my cause and the protection of heaven will carry me through: but if I fall, I hope his friendship will extend itself to embrace those whom I shall leave behind me; that a brother, whose attachment and courage have been displayed in so remarkable a manner, and that brave subjects, who will have sacrificed every thing for me and for their country, will not be abandoned by the sincerest and most ancient ally of my royal house."

The next day, the 18th of August 1772, the revolution broke out, and in fifty-four hours was brought to a close. "The king," said M. de Vergennes, "displayed a soul worthy of Gustavus Vasa, and Gustavus Adolphus. 'Remember,' said he to some of his partisans, 'that your enemies are Swedes.' 'I abjure,' exclaimed he to others, 'the power of the sword!'" He placed cannon in the streets, but he had given express orders that they should not be loaded. He broke in two a Swedish coin, of two or three shillings in value, took half himself, and gave the other half to his brother, telling the prince, that when he should receive that half, which upon

joining should appear exactly to fit the part he possessed, he might then be assured of the victory of the royalists.

On the day of the revolution, the count de Vergennes, mounted upon a ladder which commanded the park of artillery, surveyed the scene with assumed calm, but real anxiety, and sometimes with tears in his eyes. His perplexity was at an end, when the cry of *Hurrah! hurrah!* from all sides saluted his ears. The arms of the victorious royalists were each of them bound with a handkerchief, the signal agreed upon by which they were to show that their end was accomplished.. Thus did M. de Vergennes avenge France for the affronts put upon her by the aristocratical party, who had excluded him from the consultation of the enemies of Gustavus, to which they had invited the embassadors of Petersburg and London. Gustavus afterwards presented M. de Vergennes with a diamond, upon which the revolution was engraved, in memory and recompense of the successes of that day.

France, in this revolution, gave to all Europe a proof of her means and her resources. She proved, even in the decline of Lewis XV., while he slept away the dregs of his existence in the arms of madame Dubarry, that she was still in possession of her influence, even at the heart of

the remotest court in Europe. She also exhibited proofs of her moderation and humanity. The faction of the neighbouring states, which had chained up the prerogatives of the Swedish monarch, had put to death the royalists of that country who endeavoured to liberate them. The French embassy professed very different principles. The revolution of 1772 was consummated without proscription, and without effusion of blood; and we may judge of the influence of France in that circumstance, by the following paper, furnished to me by the duchess of Aiguillon.

Conference of GUSTAVUS and the Count de VERGENNES, after the Victory of the King of Sweden; as it was committed to Paper by M. de Vergennes, Embassador of France.

Count de VERGENNES. I have admired, sire, with respectful terror, yet with an entire assurance, the courage, prudence, and sagacity of your majesty: the calm you displayed is the sure stamp of a hero.

GUSTAVUS. Success is greatly dependent upon the tranquillity of the mind.

VERGENNES. The happiness of your reign depends on this first day, and on the grandeur of your resolutions. You have already explained to me your intentions. I will take the

liberty of recalling to the mind of your majesty the projects you had formed respecting this day. Long since I knew your determination to grant *security to the vanquished*, to inspire a *general confidence into all parties*, and to place upon the *most stable foundation the public tranquillity for the time to come.*

GUSTAVUS. As to security, the moderation I propose to show, in the face of Sweden and Europe, will convince them of it. I shall abstain from all vengeance on the very day of my victory. Their quiet and forbearance will show me whether they repose in me a becoming confidence. As to the future, that will entirely depend on this day. You know that I have no intention to possess myself of the rights of arbitrary power, so contrary to the manners and constitution of the Swedes. You know that my sole object is to redeem my crown from the yoke of internal anarchy, and a humiliating dependence on the neighbouring crowns. It is the interests, the spirit, and the right of my people, that I have it at heart to assert. After so signal a success, I can no longer fear that I should fall under the blows of my enemies: besides, I am willing to do every thing to show my attention to the advice and inclinations of the king your master.

VERGENNES. The case *debellare superbos*

does not apply, since they confess themselves vanquished; but it will be necessary to take measures for the future, capable to prevent the return of anarchy.

Gustavus. As to the future, I believe the Swedish nation worthy of liberty, and I think that I ought to found my own security, and that of the state, upon the magnanimity and confidence I shall display. Were I to conduct myself otherwise, the defeated party would find themselves hereafter in the very same state of oppression in which they held me and my family when they were predominant. It was the oppression they exercised upon me and my people, that compelled me to break the yoke. If I place the defeated party in a similar condition; nay, if I forget for a moment what is due to my character, they will grow impatient and restless, and an explosion will be the consequence. This is what I am desirous to prevent. I wish to place Sweden in such a condition of internal peace and prosperity, that I may be able to go in person to thank your master for his kind solicitudes, and the earnestness of his friendship. I wish to see the duke of Aiguillon, and affectionately to thank him for having effected two revolutions, in France and in Sweden, by which two crowned heads, friends to each other, are delivered from the fetters imposed on them by private ambition.

Such is the circle of my views; and now, sir, I intreat you to lose no time in affording to your master the pleasure which he will feel in learning my adventures and success.

Gustavus, victorious over his nobility, and the foreign party he established in Sweden, employed himself, in effect, in generous endeavours to gain the hearts of his subjects. A feeble and obscure minority, of the party he had humbled, cherished however in their hearts the recollection of their fall. Certain fanatics had for several years resolved to avenge the disgrace they had sustained, by the assassination of their sovereign. The courts of Berlin, London, and Petersburg, kept alive by secret subsidies the spirit of these malcontents; and though the factious denominations of *party of the caps*, and *party of the hats*, were abolished by the royal edict, still George III., Frederic, and above all Catharine, interested to prevent the rise of another Charles XII. of Sweden; and Lewis XVI., bent to support the revolution carried through by his embassador; turned a constant and vigilant attention upon the affairs of Stockholm.

The two opposite factions appeared however silenced and disarmed. The senate, sixteen years before the revolution, had conducted to

the scaffold certain faithful servants of their king, for the crime of attempting to establish him in the full possession of royal prerogative. Gustavus, more liberal, and the count de Vergennes, more humane, than the envoys of the northern courts, pursued an opposite conduct. Gustavus, now in undisputed possession of all the rights of a monarch, declared that he had no higher ambition than to be the *first citizen of a free people.* By language like this, he tranquillised the minds of a nation attached to the name of liberty. He overturned the senate, but he pardoned the vanquished aristocracy; and, in constituting his new senate, he introduced into it persons of all characters and opinions. To every faction he granted the guarantee which arises from their possessing a seat in the national assembly, and the representation which might defend them from injury. The repose of the public mind permitted him to protect the arts, the sciences, and commerce. Before the revolution, Sweden trembled at the approach of a diet; opposite factions frequently stained those public meetings with blood. Under the reign of Gustavus, Sweden was calm and flourishing; he disengaged her from the chains of Russia and Prussia, guarantees of her constitution and forms of government, which he had succeeded to destroy.

The coalition of all parties, interests, and characters, in the councils of the sovereign, in the senate, and in public employments,—a coalition odious to Russia and England, because it quieted the minds of men, and gave peace to the state,—allowed Gustavus to occupy himself with the restoration of the political consequence of Sweden, to travel into France, to pass from the extremity of Europe, of which he was a native, to the southernmost point of Italy, to leave his state in repose, even under the immediate neighbourhood of the crafty and imperious Catharine; in fine, to procure to Sweden twenty years of happiness and peace.

Such is the history of the revolution operated by Gustavus, which if it had not taken place, Russia would perhaps have gone on, assisted by the senate, to carry into effect the same projects of partition, and dismemberment, which she had introduced into Poland, and would have dethroned her king.

Not but the ministers of Russia, Prussia, and England, were sufficiently forward to traverse that calm, which Sweden owed to the magnanimity of a king victorious over faction. But Gustavus turned the tables upon them. They thought narrowly to observe all his proceedings; but Gustavus, by his vigilance,

kept in check the embassadors, their emissaries, who were instructed by the respective courts to raise up the prostrate senate, and to take into their pay the heads of the great hereditary families; thereby to trouble and disquiet Gustavus, who was reputed capable, in case of a war, of displaying the audacious and invincible mind of a successor of Charles XII. The king of Sweden contented himself with opposing to the little tricks and conspiracies of the northern courts, the magnificence of a prince desirous of forming himself on the model of Lewis XIV., and alone worthy of the greatest sovereign in Europe. They endeavoured incessantly to entangle him in revolutionary movements, to perplex his hours and exhaust his patience with the endless intrigues of the malcontents. But this prince, nursed as it were in the very lap of conspiracies, had learned to defeat and dissolve them by a calm and philosophical proceeding. He had escaped all the snares that were laid for him; and he was happily arrived at the twentieth year of repose, and oblivion of the former calamitous scenes, when a monster, who joined dissimulation and talents to a character unrelenting and enterprising, a Swedish gentleman, by name Ankerstroom, avenged himself of the revolution of 1772 by a cowardly assassination. Gustavus, by his

wisdom, had made every party in Sweden a convert to royalty. He had disarmed the tumultuous and furious passions; but what can clemency, liberality and virtue effect, when they have to encounter characters hypocritical, fawning, and vindictive? It was not a faction by which Gustavus was destroyed,—faction no longer existed in Sweden: he died a victim to the resentment of a few individuals, whose breasts were agitated by the darkest fanaticism.

France, altogether ignorant of the nature of the revolution that was engendering in her own bosom, considered the violent or sanguinary scenes which took place in the courts of the north, as the work of barbarians, to whom it would be necessary to come to France to learn *principles* of mildness, tranquillity, and civilisation. The story of what the queen dowager of Denmark had done against Caroline Matilda, Gustavus against the Swedish senate, and Catharine against her husband, filled us with horror, and we applauded the softness of the manners of France.

Russia, upon the event alluded to, instead of feeling indignant of the sex of her sovereign, or the atrocious crime which had raised her to the throne, displayed a prosperous and flattering scene. Catharine trod

in the steps of Peter the Great, and conducted the destinies of Russia with a firmness not unworthy of that extraordinary personage. More sage and judicious than the kings of the south, or than Lewis XVI., the sensuality of whose pleasures degraded them in the eyes of their neighbours and their subjects, Catharine knew how to maintain the dignity of a sovereign, even while she abandoned herself to all the voluptuousness of love. In France, the ascendancy of the royal mistresses had degraded the house of Bourbon; while in Russia, the rapid succession of the minions of Catharine had neither weakened the force of the government, nor injured the union of its policy.

The heir apparent to the Russian throne exhibited proofs of an exemplary moderation. Reserved and dignified, upon the subject of the usurpation of his mother, his conduct, his submission, and his modesty, in some sort gave a colour to the reign of a princess, the commencement of which had been odious in the eyes of nations.

The internal administration of the tzarina, and her system of external policy, are not exempt from reproach. This great princess wished to inscribe her name in the list of conquerors, and gain consideration to the immense deserts

of her empire, while she depopulated them. She made herself mistress of Poland, and abandoned the tribes of her northern subjects to the barbarism of that inhospitable climate. Fascinated with the splendor of the reign of Lewis XIV., she imitated his dilapidations and magnificence, without considering what miseries the reigns of dilapidation and military projects had inflicted on France.

Rhulieres has drawn Catharine II. with a favourable pencil. Mr. Coxe, in his Travels, has mis-led his readers, and perplexed them with specious falsehoods. Mallet Dupan, author of *The Danger of the Balance of Europe*, a work undertaken at the instigation of Sweden, has treated the tzarina with undue severity.

Catharine was extremely sensible to every thing that was published for or against her, and particularly in France. She made every exertion to obtain the suppression of the work of Rhulieres, and every sacrifice to secure to herself a potent party in the republic of letters in France. The most celebrated of our literati were treated by her with more respect than our counsellors of state. She wished to confide to d'Alembert the education of her son; she drew Diderot to the court of Petersburg; she bought the library of Voltaire; and Buffon sent to her his son, whom she loaded with honours and pre-

sents. The most declared atheists, writers who dealt in the most daring novelties, were those whom she treated with the most distinguished familiarity. We might have pronounced her the accomplice of their lucubrations and their schemes, if she had not blushed, in 1789, for the patronage she had afforded them,—insomuch, that the portrait of Voltaire was removed, by her order, from the honourable place she had assigned it, and the name of Condorcet was blotted out from the list of her academy. She appeared to repent of her conduct towards them, principally that she dreaded lest history should include her in the numeration of causes of that revolution, to which she, no doubt, contributed by the distinguishing protection and favours which she bestowed, and bestowed only, on those whose writings prepared the way for it.

History will reproach Catharine for the constancy of her interference in the internal affairs of her neighbouring sovereigns. This princess forgot, that artifice is the policy and resource of feeble states, or of states on the decline; and that a candid procedure is the proper strength of a great nation, and that to which it owes the dignity with which it appears in the page of history. The administration of her home affairs, the civilisation of her

states, and the progress which science made in Russia during her reign, will secure to her the applause of historians; but, on the other hand, Europe has already passed its judgment upon the crime to which she owed her crown, upon the mysterious tragedy which ridded her of the pretensions of Iwan, and the bloody and execrable scenes which secured to her the dominion of Poland. For ages past, and particularly during the preceding forty years, Europe had been terrified at the revolutions which gave masters to Russia, or which preserved them on the throne. Catharine, by employing measures of a similar nature, by no means contributed her part to that incessant scheme of improvement in human affairs, upon which her friends, the chimerical philosophers of France, lay so much stress.

It is worth while to hear what Diderot, describing this princess, who invited him to her court, says on the subject.

"She is made up of dignity; and, to express fully what I feel, I must say of her, that she ſtrikes me as the queen of queens. Her countenance is open; and in whatever way you consider her, it is visible that the gravity of her deportment is in perfect harmony with the unaffected carriage which never abandons her. The gestures of her body, her walk, the equa-

ble tone of her discourse, and the whole appearance of her person, unite in producing one homogeneous effect on the spectator.

"In *tête à-tete* the empress lays aside the uniform majesty of her public deportment. She has an undisguised and unelaborate manner, which makes me feel, when I am with her, as if she had been my neighbour and familiar acquaintance for twenty years; yet all this without any infringement on kindness or decency. Catharine II. possesses a minuteness of information in history, and in the details of the living customs of French society, of which one would not think a great sovereign susceptible. She generalises her ideas in a manner not less masterly than d'Alembert, when he digests twenty branches of human science to make of them one of the heads of his *preliminary discourse*. No, never shall I forget the pleasure I have enjoyed in the *têtes-à-tête* that Catharine granted me in her court, during which we chatted with each other with a frankness and simplicity beyond that which I am employing with you at this moment. If ever her productions and her letters find their way to the press, you will then be a judge of the elevation, the majesty, the grace, and the copiousness of her genius.

"It is in the highest degree honourable to our country, that this princess sets so great a value

on the French philosophy, the French drama, the French works of art, and the French taste. The tzarina would do any thing in the world to prevail on our republic of letters to transport itself into Russia, if she could hope for success in so bold a project. 'But the French,' she remarks, 'and above all the French literati, are so hardly to be brought to forget their country; they do not willingly quit their native soil, and nothing is able to domiciliate them in a Russian climate. I am not mistress of the Parisian artists and the Parisian men of learning; this is a great drawback upon my good fortune.'

"The empress speaks of a neighbouring prince with infinitely less consideration than of a French philosopher.

"I found myself getting into an extraordinary style of frankness in the conversations I held with her. Without by any means abusing her indulgence, I allowed myself to insist on the immorality of war. Catharine appeared to repent of the wars into which she had entered. Our conversation on this subject was long, animated, and full of curious details. I should not be surprised if Catharine, from this time forward, left the Turks in repose, or at least if she tempered and humanised the practices of her military proceeding.

"The empress adopts in conversation a great

variety of styles; at one time she speaks in the tone of a gay and a literary bagatelle; at another, in the strict and profound phraseology of a metaphysical reasoner: her solid knowledge, and her original reflexions, are prodigiously great."

Frederic II. had, on his side, one of those prominent characters which circumstances and distress are unable to impair. In June 1741, cardinal Fleury had so well appreciated this prince, that forty years of his subsequent reign may have given a greater development to his qualities, but have not been able to belie what that penetrating statesman pronounced respecting the young monarch. I extract this portrait from the manuscript Memoirs of Ledran, chief of the department of archives respecting foreign affairs.

"When I consider," said cardinal Fleury to marshal Belleisle, in 1741, "that we have, as it were, no single ally except princes whose affairs are in a very deranged condition, I cannot help being terrified at the war in which we are about to enter. The king of Prussia is not in this class, and yet alarms me more than all the rest. He has no scheme or method in his mind; he listens to the advice of no man; and he takes his resolutions in haste, without having made the preparations necessary to en-

sure their success. Good faith and sincerity are not his favourite virtues; he is hollow even in his caresses, and I suspect he is not to be depended upon in his alliances, for he has no single principle but that of his own interest. He wishes to govern, and to do every thing of his own head, without any concert with us. This portrait may appear to you, perhaps, a little overcharged: you have seen him more intimately, and I refer the case to your judgment. But I cannot help fearing, that if an advantageous offer is made to him, that is, if the court of Vienna, or rather of London, judges it essential to detach him from our side, he would not be very scrupulous, upon pretexts which he can very easily invent, to separate himself from our alliance. I have opened to you my heart, and I beseech you to burn my letter."

Cardinal Fleury saw the great Frederic only, if I may so express myself, in profile; but he saw truly, and history has confirmed his verdict. For the rest, this great prince is infinitely beyond any eulogium that I can pronounce upon him. At the period of the extinction of the ancient house of Austria, he enlarged, or rather he created, in spite of all that England or the confederates could do, a monarchy at the expense of Maria Theresa; and afterwards,

to preserve it, he struggled in the seven-years-war against the efforts of France, Austria, and almost all Europe, combined against him. He was continually obliged to have recourse to two means, rarely united, policy and force, according to the nature of his enemies; for he found himself surrounded with the immeasurable armies of France, Austria, and Russia, whose schemes were under the direction of three women, who employed indifferently stratagem and strength. Skilful to turn circumstances to his advantage, and seconded by a man of genius, an affectionate brother, to whom nothing was wanting but the supreme command, to enable him to equal, and perhaps to surpass his elder, he triumphed over Europe, and the sex armed against him: and though his enemies opposed to him, at the peace, a policy hostile to their own proper interests; though France, his natural protector, had fought against him, or left him to his fate, he bequeathed to his successors a great edifice to maintain,—an edifice (may they never forget it!) rather artificial in its structure, than built upon the tried foundations of the other European monarchies;—in short, an edifice of a purely military character, demanding from him who would keep it in repair, a severe administration of the finances; coffers continually full; a diplomacy active and

vigilant; a perpetual jealousy, and manners warlike and disciplinary. It is the interest of the French nation never to forget what a cardinal, a mistress to one of our kings, and a consort to another, under the direction of the court of Vienna, have done in opposition to the strict and unalterable friendship which Prussia and France (whatever be the form of their government) ought to entertain towards each other.

We have seen, that Europe, at the accession of Lewis XVI., was still under the government of sovereigns of no common qualifications. The greater part of these afterwards declared themselves in hostility to the French revolution. The revolution has seen them quit the stage of human existence; it has already triumphed over a generation of kings. Pope Pius the Sixth, the Sardinian monarch, the successor of Frederic, Joseph II., Catharine II., and Gustavus, are no more. A greater reserve and decorum towards the republic distinguishes their successors. Their prudence, turned more immediately towards their internal administration, promises to their people more tranquil and happy days. In Denmark, and in Sweden, two princes, friends to humanity, reign. They direct their administration with wisdom, and apply a balsam to the sinister effects of the revolution of the

queen-dowager of Denmark, and of the Swedish senate. Paul I. directed honourable obsequies to be performed for his father; has given liberty to Kosciusko, and the exiles in Siberia; and entered into amity with France, as soon as he discovered the error of his expeditions into Italy. We may therefore hope from him a pacific and paternal government. The successor of the great Frederic particularly fixes our present attention: like Paul I., he has discovered the benefit to arise from a strict connexion with France: we have no more Fleurys, no more Pompadours, no more Choiseuls, in the cabinet, to alienate us from this prince. The new generation, therefore, of princes in the north is of a happy augury to the lovers of peace, if France continues to observe towards these princes the deference due to the august representatives of the respectable nations they rule; if she uses her power with candour, moderation, and dignity; if she does not torment her neighbours, as the directory did, by a policy low, turbulent, and unjust; and, if she is careful, that the advantageous rank she at present occupies among the nations of Europe is not too sensibly felt. What lessons may we derive from the examples of insolence and intolerance, which have been held out to us by the British cabinet! In 1801, that government has drawn

upon itself the general resentment, as we shall clearly see in the following chapters, just as she had previously done in 1776.

In the midst of the convulsions of Europe, all eyes remarked with satisfaction the tranquillity of Switzerland, which was never mentioned but for envy and panegyric. This tranquillity was so complete, that the Swiss, after centuries of revolution, no longer knew what political troubles were, but as they found them recorded in their annals. They owed this inestimable benefit to principles and institutions, the legislative purpose of which the present age has so completely forgotten, that it will be worth while shortly to enumerate them. The following is the extract of a voluminous work which I have compiled on this subject.

The Swiss, previously to the destructive expeditions of the French directory, were indebted for the tranquillity and flourishing state of their cantons,

1st, To the variety which subsisted in the conditions of their different estates; some of which were sovereign, while others were governed upon the principle of conquest, and administered as such, first by the conqueror, and afterwards by his heirs.

2dly, The Swiss were indebted for their prosperity and peace to the association of thirteen

cantons, constituted in very different manners; some aristocratical, some democratical, and some of a mixed constitution.

3dly, They were indebted for their tranquillity to the difference of the religions established and protected in these various cantons, some catholic, some protestant, and some a mixture of both.

4thly, The Swiss were indebted for their tranquillity to the admirable intermixture and crossing of their religious and political opinions, the catholic faith being the religion of the most democratical cantons, and the protestant faith the religion of the most aristocratical cantons: so that, by an accident of a sort of a miraculous nature, the democratical spirit of the presbyterian church government allayed the excesses of power in the aristocratical cantons; while the pompous and magnificent character of the Roman-catholic priesthood tempered the paroxysms of democracy, and the turbulent and tumultuous spirit of political equality.

5thly, The Swiss were indebted for their tranquillity to the geographical distribution of their different governments, democratical or otherwise, relative to foreign powers. The haughty and stern demeanour of the democratical cantons, perpetually armed for the support of Helvetic liberty, was opposed to the house of Austria, their ancient soyereign, and who had

not yet disclaimed all its pretensions over them; while the bland and hospitable manners of the aristocratical cantons, neighbours to the ancient kingdom of France, presented to the house of Bourbon a countenance more analogous to our national manners and the form of our government.

The Swiss had beside called in nature herself to the aid and support of their political constitutions. They had not established a pure democracy in a fertile soil, in a temperate climate, or in a local position the most favourable to commerce; nor had they fixed the empire of aristocracy in the poorest countries, or in the rudest climates. The declivities of mountains, and boundaries of eternal ice, were the asylums of their democratical constitutions. The spirit of Athenian liberty had ceded to the aristocratical cantons the more fertile and temperate regions of their country.

Thus, after many ages of revolutions for the establishment of liberty and independence, the Swiss obtained the prizes they sought, by a grand social convention and treaty between the different interests and passions of the human mind. They fixed their liberty by melting into one mass, I will not say the ingredients of different factions; in a few years they wear out, and mutually destroy and annihilate each other

by punishments and proscriptions, but by the association of all the known shades and species of governments. By this contrivance all classes of opinions, and all kinds of Christian worship, were enabled to choose for themselves in Switzerland the climates and abode most agreeable to them; the simple and patriarchal manners of the shepherd life, and the habits of the wealthy merchant or trader, equally found their home within the circle of this little country. The plain and unadorned altar of the adherents of the confession of Augsburg, and the imposing and splendid ceremonies of the Roman-catholic priests, collected their little body of votaries, and satisfied in peace the dictates of their conscience.

In fine, and as if Providence had thought proper to establish in the vicinity of this group of federated republics a peculiar and privileged spot, where revolutions might take their course with impunity, the cantons of Berne, Zurich, &c. had for centuries admitted into their alliance the Genevan colony, a tribe inclined to seditions, and perpetually in a state of revolution *expected* or *declared*. Thus did the cantons of Switzerland enjoy the benefit of having the spectacle of the moral and political maladies of the human mind constantly before them, and of having this plague of human society

fixed to a determined and limited spot. As, therefore, in the theocratical states of Italy, temples and monasteries are assigned, to which repented guilt may repair for an asylum, and as monarchical governments have their contrivances for disposing of dissipated young men sunk in vice, or overwhelmed with debt, so the Swiss, in their wisdom, had adopted into their alliance the turbulent but interesting colony of Geneva, as if to fix in one place and surround with a boundary the spirit of revolutionary movements. Thus it is to the variety of positions relative to worship, of constitutions in the free cantons, and in the conquered dependencies in the different states revolutionary or pacific; it is to the legal and official harmony of all interests and all passions, and to the classification of all the kinds of governments, from the abbot of St. Gal to the avoyer of Berne, from the democratical republic of Upper Valais to the military government of the Lower Valais, that the Swiss owe their prosperity and repose. To that happy political system, which finds a place for all human passions in the service of their country, they are indebted for their patriotism; and to the truly picturesque spectacle of their national manners, they are indebted for the continual resort of strangers. So great indeed was this resort,

that the Russians, the English, the French, and the Dutch, so many of them as possessed a reasonable competence, as were blest with education, and inspired with curiosity, to a man, desired once in their lives to behold the happiness of the Alpine mountaineers, *to live among these true successors of the patriarchs*, and to become acquainted with the people sound in judgment and republican manners. The first sentiment of M. de Malesherbes, hated by courtiers, and dismissed by his sovereign, was to withdraw himself into Switzerland, and to occupy himself there in reflexions upon the vicissitudes of human affairs.'

CHAP. XIII.

The secret Political Correspondence of Lewis XV. suppressed by his Grandson—The Mistrust of that Sovereign in his Minister had produced it; the Confidence of Lewis XVI. in M. de Vergennes annihilated it—History of this secret Agency—Anxieties of the Mistresses and Ministers of Lewis XV., respecting this Correspondence—Constancy with which Lewis XV. persisted in it—His Intellect and Opinions.

CARDINAL Fleury having brought up Lewis XV. in sentiments of a general mistrust, that he might the more completely engross the ear of the sovereign, induced this prince to have recourse, in the sequel, to the employment of agents in foreign courts, unknown to his ministers of foreign affairs. Such was the origin of a correspondence, which was kept so secret, that many ministers and many mistresses rose to power and sunk again to a private station, without being able to annihilate a system which they incessantly suspected, which, for more than thirty years, tormented them with anxiety, and which was kept up by the king at a great expense in all the European courts, the disbursements being drawn from the treasury of the *livre rouge*. Lewis XV. spent many millions

annually in conducting this enterprise, which was peculiarly his own; delighting himself from time to time to distress and astonish his ministers, in full council, by disclosing to them intelligence, which often did not reach them till eight or ten days after; and sometimes directing his embassadors at Vienna, at London, or Berlin, and sometimes the first clerks in his office for foreign affairs, to communicate duplicates of the official dispatches to his secret agency.

Lewis XIV. had annually disbursed great sums, to gain to his party, clerks, secretaries and ministers, in foreign courts; sometimes, even the sovereigns themselves. Lewis XV. thought it necessary, during his whole life, to continue this plan; and, while he was directing on the one hand the secret disbursements called for by his minister of foreign affairs, he sometimes directed an expenditure for directly opposite purposes, according to the wants of his private correspondence.

From the death of cardinal Fleury, first minister of France, he prince of Conty was appointed to the general direction of this administration, the whole court being in ignorance of his functions. The French party at Warsaw were desirous of electing this prince king of Poland, and had formed a league in his favour. The king approved the design; madamd. de

Châteauroux, who had an attachment to the prince of Conty, was delighted with the prospect; and Lewis XV. called upon the prince in 1744, to present him with a plan of such measures as might best conduce to its success.

The prince of Conty applied his attention to the adapting this plan to the ancient maxims of France in her foreign concerns. He took it therefore for the first basis of his system, to enter into a confidential connexion with Turkey, Sweden, Prussia, and Denmark, and entirely to break the alliance between Austria and Russia. The king was so well satisfied with this plan, and with the correspondences that grew out of it, that the prince of Conty, for a long time, possessed the complete nomination of the embassadors of France, whom he often employed in a triple correspondence; the first, direct and ostensible for the ministers and public officers; the second, a duplicate of the preceding, for the information of the secret agency, and the third, in a much bolder and a less ordinary style, for the king alone.

It was this plan of Lewis XV. which abbé Bernis, madame de Pompadour, and the duke of Choiseul, embassador at Vienna, sought to destroy, by means of the alliance with the house of Austria. The courts of Petersburg and Vienna were by no means inclined to see a

Frenchman seated upon the throne of Warsaw. The prince of Conty, and count Broglio, who succeeded him in the direction of the secret agency, incurred the high displeasure of the favourite, whose designs and wishes were so diametrically opposite to those imputed to them: madame de Pompadour had devoted herself to the house of Austria, and was therefore eager to overthrow whatever she suspected to have been begun by madame de Châteauroux. The prince of Conty was obliged, in consequence, to retire from court; and the secret correspondence, which proceeded as before, occasioned perpetual distress and perplexity to the dukes of Choiseul and Aiguillon, during the whole of their administration. The first clerks in the office of foreign affairs were admitted into the secret; they received the correspondence of the king's private agents, decyphered and communicated them to the prince of Conty, and afterwards to count Broglio. They were also directed to communicate to these two confidants the whole of the official dispatches addressed to the dukes of Choiseul and Aiguillon; so that these ministers could never penetrate into the secret of the private agency; while all the dispatches which they wrote, and all which they received, were communicated by the first

clerk in their own department to the chiefs of this singular correspondence.

The perpetual disquietude expressed by the dukes of Choiseul and Aiguillon produced a reciprocal disquietude in the minds of the agents of the secret correspondence. The prince of Conty, therefore, and count Broglio, endeavoured many times to prevail on Lewis XV. fairly to impart this correspondence to his ministers. The king, however, was immoveable; and the better to tranquillise his agents, he gave them notice of the intrigues of his ministers against them, every time that he suspected their existence.

Prince Kaunitz, the author of the alliance between France and Austria, often felt himself alarmed at the impenetrable mystery, the symptoms of which repeatedly appeared in the French diplomatical proceedings. Sometimes the agents of Kaunitz got at the train, and discovered some scattered branches of the general system of this agency. He then obtained from the court of France the recall of those embassadors, who played, or were suspected of playing, the double part of corresponding with a public minister and a secret one. But Lewis XV., by a contrivance singular and unprecedented in the annals of diplomacy, still continued master of his correspondence, and still continued his system, enjoying in private the

lively and disquieting conjectures of his ministers, his mistresses, his allies, and his enemies.

The persons best skilled and most known for their skill in foreign affairs during the eighteenth century were the agents of this extraordinary institution. Princes of the blood, dukes and peers, embassadors, secretaries, clerks, women, and even footmen, were occasionally employed in these transactions. The list which has been published of them is faulty and imperfect. When one of them happened to die, and his wife, his children, his footmen, or his heir, got possession of his papers, Lewis XV. instantly stamped his approbation upon their initiation into these mysteries, and a pension instantly became the price by which he purchased their circumspection and fidelity. In this institution we find the names of Conty, Broglio, Vergennes, Breteuil, Saint-Priest, Segur, Damouriez, Hennin, D'Eon, Monteinard, the general Monnet and his wife, D'Avrincourt, the baron de Bon, le Dran, Favier, Tersier, a multitude of secretaries, and many valets-de-chambre. The secrecy which they maintained for thirty years is a thing unheard of in the annals of history.

The duke of Aiguillon, much less patient and enduring than the ministers who had preceded him, imagined, in concert with count Mercy, the Austrian embassador, a singular

conspiracy, of which he accused the agents whom he suspected. He accused them of carrying on in foreign countries, unknown alike to the king and his ministers, guilty and dangerous correspondences; having for their object, to derange the political system of the state, and to bring on a general war in Europe. Segur, Favier, Dumouriez, and the baron de Bon, were thrown into the Bastille and interrogated. What man at court would not have said, when he saw them committed to prison, that they were suspected, and perhaps guilty, of crimes against their sovereign? Lewis XV. signed the imprisonment of his agents to save his secret correspondence, and named commissioners to interrogate them respecting the intended conspiracy: but before he signed their detention, he took care to give them notice, and to withdraw from them their papers; and when they were under confinement, the commissioner appointed was careful, before he entered upon his interrogatory, to advertise the persons he was going to examine, that the formality they were to pass through was merely a farce.

* On one occasion, one of the secret agents died, leaving behind him many of the public dispatches transcribed from the cypher. A first clerk in the office of foreign affairs (himself a member of the secret agency) got notice of

the event. He immediately reflected upon the different parts he had to play, and conducted himself in the following manner. He first went secretly, during the night, and carried off, in quality of his character as initiated, the papers of the correspondence: the next day he went in an authentic manner, in his quality of clerk in his office of foreign affairs, under the orders of the duke of Choiseul, to draw up the *procès verbal* in the house of the defunct, attesting that the deceased agent had left no papers of any kind behind him.

M. de Vergennes had been one of these secret agents; and when he was raised to ministerial office, the secret of course was at an end; for the secret only imported to be kept from the minister of foreign affairs. The death of cardinal Fleury, who enjoyed the confidence of Lewis XV., had given birth to this extraordinary contrivance in administration and policy. The revival of that confidence in the person of Lewis XVI. necessarily reduced it to nothing. I read over at the Tuileries, and at Versailles, the collections of this correspondence; and I should here have extracted from it some very curious and instructive particulars, but that a summary of this correspondence appeared at the time in two volumes, printed for Buisson. M. de Segur is preparing a second edition,

which will have the merit of being enriched with notes by this excellent statesman. These notes will form a sort of concluding branch to the history of this correspondence.

The continual and unaccountable examples of treachery in the department of political communication sufficiently justified the suspicions of Lewis XV., and the establishment of his secret agency. We have seen, in the chapter relative to the mission of prince Lewis of Rohan, that this department was become at Paris, as well as at Vienna, Petersburg, Berlin, &c., the department of infidelity and perfidy. Lewis XV. bought at a certain price the cyphers of all the cabinets in Europe. That he might therefore obtain information, without the danger of being betrayed, he was obliged to conceal his commissions. Frederic II., in important affairs, had often two ministers. The affair of importance he confided to an envoy sent for that purpose; the ordinary agent continued to carry on the current and usual transactions. The house of Austria, obliged, like other crowned heads, to change its embassadors according to circumstances, (which depended on the courts to which they were accredited) pursued the ancient usage of placing in every one of its embassies certain confidential secretaries independent of the pub-

lic minister. The visible and official agent was recalled or not, according to circumstances: the real agent, independent of the ostensible personage, often charged with a secret of his own, and always directed to attend to general interests, remained constantly in place; and the court of Vienna rewarded him with an advance of his salary in proportion to the time he continued in service. Yet, in spite of all these precautions, and of the secret and extraordinary missions which from time to time were appointed, the house of Austria was deceived like the other cabinets of Europe, and was obliged, under Lewis XVI., to have recourse to different measures. Joseph II. was always the minister of his own important affairs with Catharine, Frederic, Lewis XVI., and others. This proceeding engendered the most serious inconveniences in France, as it induced the French nation, who loved him no better than they did his sister, to impute to his journeys a more restless and deeper ambition than in reality belonged to them.

Lewis XVI. committed a great fault in abolishing the secret agency of his grandfather: not only the public methods of diplomatical proceeding are liable in their own nature to very serious objections, but our sovereign is to be considered as depriving himself by this means

of resources, which other governments employed to his disadvantage. Lord Stormont boasted, in full parliament, that he had been in complete possession of the most secret designs of the court of France against England.

France, having lost its secret administration, had no longer any but public agents, necessarily liable to corruption; nor could Lewis XVI. be ignorant of the dangers he incurred from this circumstance, since, from the time he ascended the throne, he continued to pension foreign cabinets and the embassadors of the most respectable powers in Europe. He gave to M. de Vergennes secret instructions, signed with his own hand, respecting the conduct he was to hold in this difficult and delicate business.

The abolition of the secret correspondence of Lewis XV. was one of the causes of the misfortunes of France. The forms and principles of a government cannot be changed without a revolution; but a state may change its system of foreign affairs, and enter into a new set of alliances, without a revolution. The French revolution has had two objects; the first of which was that of the constituent party, and consisted in overturning the system of our internal policy; the second, which was that of the girondists and of England, consisted in overturning the system of our diplomacy. This

second object had the countenance of all the foreign powers who were hostile to our compact with the court of Vienna. If France, before the revolution, had had a secret agency in the nature of that of the prince of Conty and count Broglio, who professed the purest principles of the house of Bourbon, and if this secret agency had pointed out to the government the precipice to which Maria Antoinetta, and the diplomatical corps which she had organised, were conducting them, the old France, instead of being revolutionised, would herself have been enabled to revolutionise the revolution, and to maintain her station: but, enslaved by their own treaty, deprived of all foresight and consideration, and mechanically attached to the alliance of 1758, which the whole nation despised and abhorred, the government saw nothing after the death of M. de Vergennes but what the creatures of the Austrian alliance permitted them to see. All remonstrances and contrary opinions were regarded as the opinions of a bad citizen; the state was deprived of the eyes and of the comments of the secret agency, which it had annihilated; it was deprived of the succour which it might have derived from the contrariety of opinions; and it was the victim of the resentment of the anti-Austrian party, who declared war alike upon the court

of Versailles and the court of Vienna. The French government wanted flexibility, because it wanted information; and it wanted information, because this was the principal source of dread to Maria Antoinetta. The house of Bourbon, therefore, fell a victim to the malignant character of the Austrian treaty, and along with it fell, in one common ruin, its principal creature, Maria Antoinetta, its diplomatical corps and its adherents.

In a similar circumstance, the king of England, attentive to the different operations of his ministry and of the opposition, sacrificed opportunely, and in time, the former, to rank himself in the party of the latter, and to avoid a revolution. The house of Bourbon, conducted and mis-led by the house of Austria, was found absolutely deficient in foresight, judgment, and strength.

REIGN OF LEWIS XVI.

FOURTH EPOCH;

OR

THE LIBERTY OF AMERICA:

Preceded with the History of the Causes of the War of France against England.

"What ought to be the sentiments of his majesty respecting the vast and rapid armaments of the court of London? What inference should he draw from its arbitrary proceedings, its arrogant pretensions, its peremptory refusals of redress? What validity ought he to ascribe to the last words of the oracle and idol of the English nation, lord Chatham, who, causing himself to be carried down to the house of lords, that he might expire on its floor, exclaimed, 'Peace with America, and war with the whole house of Bourbon!' The court of London has itself subscribed to the vindication of our jealousies and precaution, by the hostile orders it sent to India previously to the declaration of the marquis of Noailles. The English administration felt the force and the justice of this reproach, and have passed it over in silence, because they could not refute it."

Observations of LEWIS XVI. *upon the justifying Memorial of* GEORGE III. *King of England.*

CHAP. I.

History of the Causes, remote and immediate, of the American War between France and England.—After the Exile of the Duke of Choiseul, M. d'Aiguillon conceives the Project of an Alliance in the South, to oppose the League of the North—He wishes to connect France and England—The Death of Lewis XV. disconcerts this Plan.—The Austrian Party headed by the Queen, and the English Party headed by the Duke of Aiguillon, engage in a Variety of secret Intrigues, to ascertain which of the two Powers shall become the Ally of the Court of Versailles—Defects of each of these Alliances.—France has no genuine Alliances by Land, but with the subordinate Continental Powers, hostile to the House of Austria; or by Sea, but with the subordinate Maritime Powers, hostile to the Policy of England.

WHEN the duke of Choiseul had been dismissed from the administration; when the misunderstanding which he had excited between the Spaniards and the English had been arranged; and when M. d'Aiguillon became nearly sure we should have no war with England; this minister conceived the plan of opposing to the old alliance of 1756, between France and Austria, and to the confederacy of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, a new confederacy, the ob-

ject of which should be to repress the turbulent ambition of the three partitioning powers.

To this triple alliance, M. d'Aiguillon purposed to oppose a quadruple alliance, of France, England, Spain, and the court of Turin.

M. d'Aiguillon incessantly represented to the court of London, that Frederic, in consequence of this new partition, and aided by the fecundity of his creative genius, would not fail to convert his purely continental monarchy into a maritime power. The port of Dantzic would open to him the commerce of the Baltic. The Vistula would prove a medium of enriching his dominions. Poland, with its *starosties*, its overgrown nobility, and its internal disorders, was incapable of forming the system of a maritime commerce. But under a king who knew no obstacles to the execution of its projects, Prussia might seize its portion of the commerce of the world. The English, whom the very name of commerce filled with jealousy and alarm, who considered the strictly continental powers as states degraded by nature, and the maritime powers as immediately her enemies, readily listened to the duke of Aiguillon. The commerce of the Black Sea, which Russia had lately acquired, had been a source to the English of the most lively solicitude. The decrepitude of the Turkish power they regarded

with complaisance. The ambition, activity, and intellect of Catharine, produced in them no less alarm than the transference of Dantzic into the hands of the king of Prussia. France and England were already prepared to exert themselves to change the face of Europe. England had replied in the most favourable manner to the duke of Aiguillon, to madame Dubarry, and to the parliament of M. de Maupeou, when the death of Lewis XV. opened to Europe the prospect of a new order of things. An Austrian princess, the consort of our sovereign, had succeeded to the influence of madame Dubarry, and the discovery of the projects of the duke of Aiguillon was the principal motive of the disgrace of that minister. Henceforth England and Austria tried each of them their strength in intrigue, in the cabinet of Versailles. The party of d'Aiguillon, which may be called the English party, meditated the ruin of the queen, and the destruction of the Austrian system. The Austrian party, headed by the queen, was bent upon continuing the disgrace of the duke of Aiguillon.

Both the proposed alliances of France, with Austria or with England, were contrary to our genuine interests; they tended to degrade the character of France, whose proper station is that of protector of the weak, and whom it does

not become to propagate and maintain the terror necessarily excited in weak states, when the great and powerful ones enter into alliance. England could not, in 1773, desire to connect herself with us, but for purposes of injury, and that she might do us by sea the same mischief that Austria desired to do us on the continent.

CHAP. II.

Further Causes of the American War.—Relative Situations of France and England at the Accession of Lewis XVI.—Opinion of M. de Vergennes respecting England.—Situation of England with regard to Russia, Austria, Sweden, Denmark, and the Family Compact.—Private Sentiments of Lewis XVI. with respect to England.—Anecdote relative to the Duke of Lauzun—Sentiments of this Prince respecting England.

THE death of Lewis XV. was then in the nature of a victory to the court of Vienna, and the reign of Maria Antoinetta of a defeat to the court of France; for England losing the prospect of the meditated alliance with us, did not lose that of profiting of all the advantages which she possessed against us.

England was in the situation, ever since the peace of 1763, of a victorious power, a terror to the other maritime powers, by the gradual increase of her strength, which France was no longer able to repress, in consequence of the disorder of her finances.

By land, England was not in so favourable a situation; she had no longer any allies on the

continent. The alliance between France and Austria took from her the advantage she possessed in 1741, of a populous military state, which she could at pleasure take into her pay, to fight against France. Prussia, Russia, and Austria, were still occupied with the partition of Poland; Turkey, alarmed at the ambition of Russia, was out of a condition either to serve England, or to injure it; Sweden had just undergone a revolution; Denmark sought to make her revolution forgotten, by a mild and pacific system of government. France, upon the supposition of a previous reform in her administration, might with security direct all her efforts for the attack of England, might engage Spain in the same undertaking, and even excite the jealousy of the other maritime powers to humble her rival, which had abused its victory at the peace of 1763.

England was not ignorant that France, humbled by the last treaty of peace, had scattered the seeds of a revolution in America. She had herself alienated Prussia, by the displeasure she showed at seeing Frederic become master of Dantzic. She disturbed the court of Vienna, by her private disputes about the electorate of Hanover. The imaginary crimes imputed to the interesting Matilda put an end to the good-understanding between George III. and Chris-

tian VII. And the troubles of America became every day more serious and alarming.

Thus circumstanced, England displayed some tokens of a pacific disposition; but M. de Vergennes was convinced, that this power, which showed itself continually restless and intrusive in the affairs of the continent, would always be more hostile to our prosperity than satisfied with its own good fortune. He presumed however, from the period of his elevation to office, that England would not fail to be at peace with us as long as the troubles of her colonies continued. France accordingly spent great sums of money in America, to foment those troubles, and to deliver herself from the greater sacrifices which would be required by an open war. We did not however go on without fearing the cry of war of the people of London against us, the usual signal for encouraging the English partisans of hostilities, and which France might expect to hear when the English nation became generally persuaded of our connexion with the malcontents of America.

France and Spain were connected in a family compact, by the tenure of which any maritime war, in which either was engaged, was to be common to both. These nations were interested in avoiding and preventing war, each for itself and its ally; while England had reason to fear

the provoking either of these powers, certain that the first gun she fired against either would probably be answered by a mutual and concerted attack.

Lewis XVI., who in the sequel was the first to declare war against England, was in his own temper very averse to that measure. This is fully evinced by the notes written in his own hand, in the margin of the project of a manifesto which the count de Vergennes presented to him.[1] For a long time he resisted all the importunities of his ministers: they talked to him of *reasons of state*, and he replied to them with genuine and unaffected reasons. Lewis XVI., however, loved neither the English, nor their manners, nor their constitution. He had inherited from his ancestors sentiments, which, for ages past, had nourished the rivalship of these two powers. All that his grandfather had said or done, to keep up the distance and reserve of the two nations, he approved. The late king had applied to the courtier, who boasted that "he was going to London to learn to think," that his journey would be much better judged if his object were to learn "to curry-comb horses;" an atrocious satire, which was known and repeated in all the courts of Europe, and in all the pamphlets of the time. Lewis XVI. expressed an opinion not dissimilar

to this, but with less rudeness and bitterness, against the English. It is well known, that the Anglio-mania rapidly grew stronger in France after the death of Lewis XV. The duke of Lauzun, that he might be in the mode, and assume a tone which Lewis XVI. was far from approving, allowed himself at Versailles to ridicule the bad taste of the French customs, and to applaud the elegance of those of England. "Sir," replied the patriotic monarch to the duke of Lauzun, with a tone of displeasure, "if any one is really so fond of the English as you express yourself, he cannot do better than go and live among them, and enter into their service."

Notwithstanding this, however, the sentiments of Lewis XVI. were not so hostile to England as to lead him to approve all methods, indiscriminately, of injuring a state which had shown itself so little scrupulous towards the French, and, indeed, towards every European nation which she had wished to subject to her dictatorial authority, or against which she has thought she has ground of complaint. The king did not approve of the clandestine succours which were granted to the American insurgents. M. de Castries and M. de Sartines may remember the memorable words of this prince, when he was obliged to sign certain

unjust measures against the tranquillity of England. I will preserve them for posterity and history, by transcribing them from the margin of the ministerial papers, where the king wrote thus: "What a situation is mine! Why should I be obliged, by reasons of state, and the pretext of a great military operation, already entered upon, to sign orders which my heart condemns, and to which my opinions are adverse?"

In finishing this chapter, let me advert, *for the sake of recording it*, to the tone of contempt adopted by the court of France against England, and the hereditary hatred entertained by the house of Bourbon against this insular power. Hence the ardent resentments of the government of England, who, observing in our court, in our dignified clergy, and our high nobility, the permanence of this unjust hatred, watched for a favourable opportunity to prove to Europe, that the British nation did not deserve the disdain and contempt of any power on earth.

CHAP. III.

Flourishing Condition of the English Nation since the Peace of 1763.—Degraded State of France.—England aspires to keep all the Maritime Nations under her.—The English Colonists and the French sympathise in Misfortune, and the Resentment arising from it—They enter into Correspondence.—Remarks on the clandestine Succours granted by France to the English Colonies.—The Conduct of the European Powers in perpetual Contradiction with the Principles of the Law of Nations.—England had abused her Power, to the Injury of France.—Lewis XV. had bartered the Honour of his Country in the Negotiations which led to the Peace of 1763.

ON the accession of Lewis XVI. to the throne of France, France and England enjoyed a profound peace; but England, which had been the victorious party in the last war, had gradually improved her situation, diminished her debt, and commissioned proper and well-informed persons to penetrate into all the countries of the globe, the most unknown and the most inaccessible, to discover new regions, to treat with people as yet unheard of, and thus to obtain an universal commerce, and to convert the advantages of her situation into a fixed and permanent tyranny.

This domination, while it terrified the subordinate maritime powers, produced such a degree

of anguish and alarm at all times, as instigated nations to make the most vehement efforts to get rid of it. This had been the sentiment which had given rise to, and had proved victorious in, the thirty-years-war in Germany: this has been the sentiment which produced the confederacies of king William and queen Anne, when Lewis XIV. was thought to aspire to universal monarchy. The last effect of this sentiment had displayed itself upon the death of the last male heir of the house of Austria in 1740, when all the neighbouring powers fell, as by common consent, upon Maria Theresa, its representative, bent to dismember her dominions; so poignantly had Europe been impressed with the constraints and humiliations which the power of the house of Austria had imposed upon her.

France sympathised in 1774 with the pains and displeasure of the several maritime powers. The peace of 1763, and the last year of Lewis XV., had degraded this country, which nature had made at once continental and maritime; so that by sea she was reduced to the rank of a subordinate nation, as by land she stood in the same relation to the house of Austria. But England, blinded and intoxicated with her prosperity, did not advert to the uneasy sensations and the natural impatience of the French, or to the analogy which existed between their com-

plaints and those of the North-American colonies. Great-Britain, in 1763, had been wanting in that moderation and modesty which can alone give stability to success. At the period of which we now treat, she was wanting in that foresight which is the essence of all policy. She had forgotten the terror she had felt, in common with all Europe, at the period of the greatness of Lewis XIV.: she had forgotten the terrors which France felt at the almost universal monarchy of Charles V. She flattered herself, that France, who had subscribed to a disgraceful treaty, driven to it by the extremity of her pecuniary situation, would sit down tranquil under the disgrace which England had so eagerly endeavoured to fasten on her. In this instance the British government did much mischief with little advantage, and to this source we may trace the American war.

Without doubt, before the war of 1778, Great-Britain had not failed to represent to her embassadors on the continent, "to listen with scrupulous attention to the complaints and the representations of the allied or neighbouring powers, to anticipate and prevent all occasions of national quarrel, and, in fine, to inspire, on every hand, a confidence in the justness and views of the court of London."

But what could the most fair spoken agents, commissioned to every court of Europe, full of lofty and magnificent assertions, effect, when these assertions came to be weighed, analysed, and appreciated, in the silence of the closet. The naval power of England was not, for all these assertions, one whit the less an object of terror in every port, and every sea, where she dictated laws that admitted of no contradiction, and executed them by virtue of her superior strength. Peace was become to her allies, and to her neighbours, a situation so painful, that they could no longer be silent under the burthen. England, by its turbulent and oppressive ascendency, was exposed in her turn to the insults of powers, who resolved to withdraw themselves from her despotism.

In the midst of the tranquillity which succeeded the peace of 1763, a peace so ignominious for France, so imprudent for England, discord broke out in America, in the heart of the English colonies. It was the offspring of that state of oppression which the English dependencies endured in common with the dependencies of the other maritime powers. The colonists were the first to express their discontent, and to seek confederates in Europe, who might enable them to soften the rigour of the mother country. France listened to their over-

ture; or, if you will, France was the first to exert herself to feed the flame which was as yet concealed, but which was destined to spread over the whole western coast of North America. Can nature, when in a state of suffering, inspire any other remedy, to those who feel a community of evils, but an association of efforts to counteract the power which oppresses them.

Add to this, it was an established principle, that at all times nations have increased their military power during war, by leaguing themselves with opposing and discontented parties existing among the enemy. Certainly they have not done this in virtue of any avowed principle of the law of nations: it is a practice unjust in itself, and contrary to the sincerity which ought to exist between governments; but it has not been the less constant in its usage, nor does the state exist which has failed to profit of it.

It was thus that king Charles I., in a state of war with France, had treated with the particular magistrates of Rochelle, received their deputies, and sent them his envoys, in defiance of the law of nations, the benefit of which was claimed by England in 1778.

It was in virtue of the same policy that the cabinet of London excited the protestants of the Cevennes to rebel after the revocation of the

edict of Nantes, and afterwards subsidised, caressed, and wrought into hostility, on all occasions, a party in the maritime province of Bretany, in which the English did not cease to foment a discord so injurious to the French government, and which rendered this province for so long a time inferior in civilisation and industry to the rest of the kingdom.

Undoubtedly, embassadors in their declarations, and cabinets in their memorials, equally disavow on both sides these sinister proceedings; but will History less certainly record them?

France therefore "forgot the faith of treaties, the duty of allies towards each other, and the right of sovereigns, by perfidiously succouring the British colonies," to speak the language of the English cabinet, for the very same reason that England in former times had forgotten "the faith of treaties, the duties of allies towards each other, and the rights of sovereigns, in succouring and subsidising the protestants" of Rochelle and the Camisards of the Cevennes, in 1703, the period of the greatest power of Lewis XIV.: and as England "was not ashamed, in the circumstances in which she formerly stood, to compromise her dignity by the secret connexions she formed with the subjects of France, and to exhaust

nations and to increase the foresight and honesty of mankind, is obliged to weigh these things in her balance, and to paint with no less fidelity the secret and the declared hostility of nations. Sweden, agitated for ages past, according to the confession of the late king of Prussia in his Memoirs, by foreign factions, is in perpetual danger of revolution upon revolution. If Russia has often raised a power, the party of the *caps*; France, in 1772, secured the ascendency to the party of the *hats*.

Thus is history reduced to reproach modern Europe with perpetual contradictions between the duties and the conduct of the diplomatical characters. If France, who ought now to be impressed with the sentiment of her grandeur and her strength, should at length discard the miserable resources of her former secret and subaltern policy; if she should legalise these obscure patronages, as, since the treaty of Westphalia, she has legalised her protection constantly granted to the protestants against the catholic powers of the house of Hapsburg; or if she should frankly and generously renounce the subterranean proceedings of her secret agents, by defining in her negotiations what it is she desires, and in her treaties what she has a right to claim; she will give protection to the public law of nations,

will give simplicity and luminousness to her political system, and will do much towards the introduction of a permanent pacification.

The substance of this chapter proceeds on the supposition, that England abused the advantages of victory in the peace of 1763, and reduced us to a state of humiliation incompatible with the gallantry and spirit of Frenchmen.

The cabinet of Lewis XV. has certainly been too highly contemned, when it was accused of having consented to certain secret articles in the treaty, which restrained France from building more than a determinate number of vessels. But if these secret articles have never really existed, all Europe knows that the condition existed *in fact* under the reign of the aged Lewis XV., whom England compelled to leave his marine in a state of ruin and neglect, upon pain of seeing himself again attacked by the whole force of the British nation. Who does not know, that, whenever they dared to speak at the court of Versailles, during this reign, of regenerating the marine, that they were obliged to submit without murmuring to the haughty style of the English cabinet, who threatened, sometimes more vaguely, and sometimes more emphatically, to plunge dishonoured France in a condition still more dishonourable? Could

in that proceeding all the resources of dissimulation," France, in her turn, used towards England, in 1778, the same perfidy and the same dissimulation; with this difference however, that England, constantly jealous of the continental preponderance of France, had wished to humble a nation whose soil, whose climate, whose military population, and whose landed wealth, threw into the shade her insular pride; while, at the accession of Lewis XVI., the national limits and relative population of the English archipelago being productive merely of an artificial and commercial greatness, the jealousy which France entertained of this power was a jealousy purely commercial, colonial, and maritime. The French nation was indebted for its greatness to the bounty of nature: the greatness of England, of which Europe had so much reason to complain, was the offspring merely of art, and the nursling of address.

On the continent, proceedings analogous to those we have described of the two crowns had formerly produced great events, and even revolutions. France and England had joined themselves to the Dutch, to deliver them from the yoke of the house of Austria. From the union of the forces of the insurgents, of the French and the English, had finally resulted

the establishment of a new state in the scale of Europe. France, for three centuries, alike whether she was at war or peace with the house of Austria, succoured the Swiss in contempt of the rights of sovereignty invested in this house. The Spanish branch of the house of Austria did not cease during the *league*, and with somewhat more of secrecy during the *fronde*, to protect the catholic party in France; for the very same reason that France protected the protestant party in Germany, in direct opposition to the interests of the house of Austria. England herself, since the treaty of 1783, has been industriously employed in preparing the revolution of 1789 against the old French monarchy, and the revolutions of the jácobines against the constitutional monarchy; just as she is now employed in endeavouring to give success to another monarchical party against the republic, which has been constituted and established nine years; and as she would undoubtedly assail this new monarchy, if she could ever succeed in establishing it, by the intervention of republican factions. The underhand-war of the secret partisans of states in arms against each other, though disavowed in memorials and declarations, is not an atom the less real; and history, whose purport it is to enlighten

nate terms, for troops with which to subdue the American insurgents. They then felt all the disadvantage which arose to them from the alliance of France and Austria. They were prevented from this alliance from the possibility of arming Austria against us; and Frederic was too cautious and too wise to hire out his army to the English, whom he did not love, particularly to embark them for the other side of the Atlantic. Catharine II., to whom they made the same proposition of hiring out her Russians, answered with the haughtiness of a sovereign shocked at so gross a demand. To sell or to let out her troops to the English, for subsidies, was an affront to her independent and lofty situation. The English hawked their proposal from one end of Europe to the other. The little prince of Waldeck was not ashamed, for the sake of their crowns, to hire out to them five hundred soldiers. They got as many from Hanau, and the same number from Anspach. The duke of Brunswic accommodated them with four thousand men, and the landgrave of Hesse with twelve thousand. These very troops were obliged to dispute with Frederic their passage through the territories of the empire.

CHAP. IV.

Portrait of the English Court and Administration in the present Circumstances.—Portrait and Virtues of George III.—Character of his Cabinet.

WE have had the misfortune to live in the midst of a rage for revolution, one of the imperious and despotical principles of which has been, to prescribe to us the judgment we should form upon the events, the persons, and the nations, which surround us. The disturbers of the public peace punished all writers who did not echo their sentiments. The case is now altered, and we are permitted in France to give our suffrage to virtue, though it should be found in an enemy.

George III., who became king of Great-Britain fourteen years before the accession of Lewis XVI., exhibited to all Europe, in his own person, the union of every private virtue. Married, in 1761, to the princess Sophia Charlotte Mecklenburg Strelitz, thirteen children have been the issue of their alliance.

our nation indeed rank in the class of independent powers, when the improvement and enlargement of our commerce depended upon the caprices of England, or, to speak more accurately, upon the concessions of her restless ambition.

The authorised introduction of a commissioner from the English court, to watch over the execution of the stipulations of the treaty, was surely an article to the last degree humiliating. Did not England, when it obliged France, pressed by misfortune in 1763, to subscribe to a disgraceful engagement, with no advantages to our finances, our commerce, or so much as to our political relations, present to astonished Europe the spectacle of a nation drunk with success, and demanding from France, at one and the same moment, the sacrifice of Canada, and the sacrifice of her honour? Lewis XV. no doubt might, if he pleased, yield, by a treaty, one of our colonies: France had won, and might resign it. But the honour of the French nation was not the property of Lewis XV. Lewis XVI., his successor, was free to break a treaty which had obscured that national dignity, to which it behoves us at all times to look, as to our genuine strength, and the conservative principle of our existence and our individuality. England had proposed and

obtained a treaty, which was of no force either for Lewis XVI. or his successor, since it is not in the competence of any nation to delegate the administration of their honour on the tenure of their national character.

And where is the enlightened man who questions not that England made an ill use of its ascendency, in negotiating with Lewis XV. the peace of 1763, when he remarks, in our diplomatical history, the patience of France carried to such a pitch as to allow England to send, in 1772, her commissioners to Toulon, to "ascertain the dismantling of the fleet, which we destined for the succour of Sweden?" Let us banish from our memory these disgraceful and humiliating incidents, to consider whether France, in 1778, in the language of her manifestoes, did not take an advantage equally undue of her more independent and more fortunate situation.

The English are extremely sparing of the blood of their countrymen. If an Englishman adheres to the party of opposition, he often refuses to fight at all; and, if he is an adherent of the government, he is too valuable to be lost. Thus circumstanced, the English cabinet felt a most exquisite anguish for the secret connexions of France with the rebellious colonies, and sought, on all sides, in the most importu-

The queen is a model of virtue, modesty, piety, and religion. The sovereign himself is distinguished for goodness of heart, for paternal affection, and the love of his people. The French jacobins have loaded this prince with a thousand scurrilities. He is not the author of the injuries his government has done to France or to liberty. An attentive inquirer may find in his history unequivocal and excellent specimens of the tenderness he feels for the privilege of his subjects.

This prince had scarcely ascended the throne, when he was the first to demand, that limits should be prescribed to his civil list, and that his expenditure should be submitted to parliamentary inspection. Soon after he proposed the great measure of the independence of the judges, and made several other wise regulations respecting them. In 1770, he insured the independence of parliament, by the act which refers exclusively to committees of the house of commons, chosen by ballot, the decision of the validity of elections. In 1782, he further confirmed this independence, by the acts which exclude contractors, custom-house officers, and other placemen, from a seat in the house of commons, and which limited the pensions to be granted by the crown. In fine, he sanctioned, with the royal assent, the act

which admits the question of law as well as of fact, in cases of libel, to the decision of the jury, calling upon the jury to decide not only whether the defendant has written the work under prosecution, but, also, whether the work be criminal or innocent. George III., by these successive measures, has eminently improved the British constitution, in whatever regards the civil rights of the citizen; and this is the prince whom the jacobins have represented as a tyrant, insatiable in his eagerness to destroy civil and individual liberty.

Yet, under this reign, the English administration have ventured to adopt measures, and to commit abuses, some of them dishonourable to the government, and others which appear the result of a profound infatuation. George III. would have evinced his virtue and moderation, if, instead of continuing the war in which his predecessor had entered, he had studied to calm the destructive and reciprocal hatred which existed between France and England. But, instead of this, he exacted from France, not merely the painful sacrifice of her colonies, which France would have endured in consideration of her miscarriages in the war, but he carried his contempt of our nation so far as to exact from us concessions, at the peace, which were of no benefit to Eng-

land, and which could answer no other end than to feed her overbearing insolence and the mutual aversion of the parties. He adopted himself the erroneous and fatal opinion, that France was so profoundly plunged in the vices and inanity of the court of Lewis XV., as to be incapable, under his successor, of imagining or executing any thing noble or courageous to deliver herself from this ignominy. The spirit of the peace of 1763 was the first error of the reign of George III.

The inflexibility of his administration towards the sentiments of his colonies was the second error of his reign. We may now peruse, with impartiality and instruction, the haughty and soldier-like tone of the manifestoes and ministerial papers of the English government, and see how great was their injustice towards this useful portion of the British empire. England has been sufficiently convinced of the effects of her imprudence.

Thus, under a prince moderate in his own disposition, and entertaining a sacred regard for the rights of a free people, the English government departed from all caution and sobriety, by its indecent exultation over the humbled state of France and her own colonies; exacting, from us that docility which France practised, with circumstances of the basest degradation, from the peace of 1763 to the death

of Lewis XV.; thus retaining the French nation, of all nations the least patient of subjection and disgrace, in the lowest condition of timid slavery and constraint.

England, at the accession of Lewis XVI., was governed by a secret council, which yielded itself implicitly to the guidance, not of that national dignity which sits so well upon a brave and great people, but by a haughty and despotic stiffness, which neither Europe nor France could endure. Lord Rochefort was minister for foreign affairs, lord Sandwich president over the marine, and lord North over the finances. These three ministers, more properly men of pleasure than men of genius, accustomed to see France so far disgraced, under Lewis XV., as to endure the haughty tone and the menacing allusions of the embassadors of the court of London, and the visits of the English commissioners in our ports, believed, that, under a young king, whose most confidential minister was decrepid and on the brink of the grave, England might enjoy in tranquillity the advantages defined by the peace of 1763; that she might continue to watch over our ports, our docks, and our arsenals; and that, by a few menacing hints and expressions in the English style, she might at any time stop us in our construction of ships, and our warlike preparations.

CHAP. V.

Insurrection of the Americans against George III. and the English Parliament.—The Opposition shows itself favourable to the Colonists.—Character and Portrait of Lord Chatham, the Soul of the Opposition, and the Idol of England.

IT was under these circumstances that the troubles of America began to appear, from the year 1770. M. de Choiseul had endeavoured to blow up the flame of discord in the English colonies. The stamp-act, and the act imposing a duty on tea, were the signals of general disaffection. The Bostonians pulled down the houses of the governor and lieutenant-governor, sent to them from England. The militia refused to obey the orders of the governor in council. The colonists declared themselves independent of the mother country, and began the formation of their congresses.

At London, men of genius, members of the parliamentary opposition, vindicated the cause of the Americans. In this party we find the names of Chatham, Burke, Fox, the duke of Manchester, the marquis of Rockingham, and the earl of Shelburne. The city of London by

its petitions, and the Americans by their remonstrances, lighted the torch of war. The statue of king George was dashed to pieces, melted, and cast into cannon-balls, at New York. In vain did the king and the parliamentary majority endeavour to stem the tide of insurrection: the resolutions of congress, and the successes of Washington, perpetually disconcerted the efforts of the British cabinet.

Lord Chatham was the soul of opposition. He had been called into office during the seven-years-war, at a moment of national dejection, soon after the commencement of hostilities. France, whom her royal mistress had not yet totally degraded, gave new proofs of her bravery and valour, conquered Minorca, and defeated the efforts of the confederates on the continent. The first military undertaking of the new minister was the capture of Rochefort. His hatred against France, and his blindness, were such, that he thought he should lead the English detachments to the gates of Paris: he believed he should inflict upon France a terrible wound: the result of his ridiculous enterprise was a mere scratch. The projects of descent upon France, imagined by lord Chatham, produced no other effect than the odious one of animating against us a people not naturally our enemy, by the pompous spectacle, which his lordship

contrived, of carrying in triumphal procession, through the streets of London, the cannon which was taken at Cherbourg. The conquest of Canada, which was the project of lord Chatham, and which has remained in the hands of the English, was more useful than glorious to that nation, as well as the capture of Guadeloupe, Goree, Senegal, and Belleisle.

These military successes gave the minister an extraordinary credit and renown, which were increased in proportion as he irritated more violently the English nation against the French, and exaggerated the merit of his expeditions, by rejoicings, processions, and popular tricks. He appeared a hero in the eyes of his contemporaries, because he continued a plague and an evil genius to France, which, in the madness of his pride, he swore to destroy. His malignant qualities had in them so full a connexion, so pure a system, and so interrupted a plan of conduct in relation to us, and France exhibited on her part so total a penury of revenue and wisdom, that it is not surprising that Lewis XV., governed by a little shop-woman from the city of Paris, with no understanding, no penetration, nor eminent qualities of any sort, should have been vanquished by the mighty Chatham. The English government was a theatre for talents,

the French was a centre and complication of every vice.

The British minister was besides deeply in debt to fortunate circumstances: the administration which deserted its post, after the capture of Minorca, was overwhelmed with confusion, and incapable of assuming the dignity and tone of a parliamentary opposition. England, stung and maddened with disappointment, applauded the execution of admiral Byng; while lord Chatham, in the mean time, filled the court and all places of public trust with the determined enemies of France. The party of opposition had gained the day, when lord Chatham was advanced to the head of administration. All England turned their eyes upon him, as their deliverer; and yet such is the good sense and sound judgment of that people, even with regard to his administration, that, when the object was to terminate the war, the great Chatham was obliged to throw up his appointments. The English nation became fully aware, that his favourite principle, *Delenda est Carthago*, was merely an ideal and preposterous project. How could it be otherwise? No sooner did France at any time manifest the project of a descent on that island, no sooner was the cabinet of Versailles placed under the direction of men of

character, than the English gave themselves over to all the excesses of a panic terror. What then could England effect with a fleet of a hundred ships? What could the armies of the king of Prussia do against France and Austria in alliance in the seven-years-war. Take a few ships, and gain a few battles. France, under the insignificant Lewis XV. and his little Parisian shopkeeper, was still, in spite of all the efforts of Prussia and England, the first of European nations; and lord Chatham merely a man whose sublime genius had hurried him into the adoption of visionary and impossible projects against us.

England has placed lord Chatham in the list of the most illustrious men whom that insular power has produced. But Europe has remarked, that, on the continent, his views were seconded by that genuine hero of the eighteenth century, the great Frederic. These two men, endowed with unquestionable talents, and impassioned even to heroism for the glory of their country, had for their antagonists, in the court of Versailles, an indolent, luxurious, and careless monarch, a queen without influence, and a royal mistress of a narrow understanding, whose favourable purpose it was to remove from the court and the army every man capable of doing credit to his country. Such was the real strength of England against France.

After an administration thus brilliant, audacious and successful, lord Chatham dismissed from public employ, but still esteemed and loved by his countrymen, distinguished in the party of opposition by his unremitted animosity against the French nation, brought up his celebrated son in his own principles; and it is well known, that being thoroughly informed of the secret intelligence which France kept up with the American insurgents, he instilled into his son the project of avenging his country, by similar operations against France. It was in vain that lord Chatham employed, in 1760, the English ships and Prussian armies for the destruction of Carthage. In 1780, France retaliated to some purpose, and, by spiriting the American colonies against England, parcelled out the British empire as she pleased. Chatham taught his son to unite address, which he had not used, to that audacious spirit in which he had always found his advantage, and profoundly to bear in mind, that what had caused the disgrace and dismission of his father, was his patriotic zeal, his love for his country, his success and resentment against France. The impressions we receive in the tenderness of infancy are difficult to efface; for this reason the son of the great Chatham is the rooted and unalterable enemy of France: he was taught his lesson by that man, who replied to

the duke of Nivernois, when the duke reproached him, in a sportive way, for some piratical acts of the British government: "If Great-Britain consulted her justice, instead of her clemency, towards France, France would not last half a century from this hour." These sentiments respecting us made the fall of the father a necessary preliminary of peace: and the fall of the son must in like manner take place, before the present war can be terminated.

CHAP. VI.

Conduct of France under these Circumstances.—Count Broglio lays before Lewis XVI. the hostile System which the English had formed against us.—Principle of the Chatham party, Delenda est Carthago—*How this Principle was received under Lewis XVI.—Counter-Project of the French.*

THE cabinet of Versailles was not unacquainted with any of the destructive views expressed by its enemies in England against France. Count Broglio detailed to Lewis XVI. the romantic and unrelenting project of that party. This project he inferred, from combining all the observations of the secret correspondence which this prince annihilated and laid before Lewis XVI., when it was necessary to unite a similar correspondence on occasion of the American discontents. The explanation of count Broglio was as follows.

" When Mr. Pitt acceded to the helm of affairs, he pronounced, in a prophetic tone, 'that England was saved, and that France was no more.' The English nation applauded the prediction, and accepted the augury. The event

justified him; and when this fortunate minister bade his heroes recollect his prediction after the success (the peace of 1763), he added, to what he had before said, the celebrated remark, 'that America had been conquered in Germany.'

"Men believed, or pretended to believe, that for the future France would be able to dictate to England by means of her united treaties with Spain and the court of Vienna. The English administration recited it as a maxim.

"What then is the position of England, before the American war, with regard to France? it is a melancholy thing to confess, but it is precisely that of ancient Rome in relation to Carthage between the second and third Punic wars.

"Victorious Rome then laid it down as a principle, no doubt cruel and indefensible, but excused perhaps by reasons of state, that, whatever misunderstandings occurred between her and the vanquished Carthaginians, to listen to no suggestions of justice or the rights of nations, to admit only one stern and invariable law, the atrocious maxim, that it was not enough to have humbled Carthage, but that it was necessary *to destroy her*. *Delenda est Carthago* was the incessant exclamation of the most upright of the Romans, Cato the censor. Under these circumstances it was no longer

possible for the unfortunate Carthaginians to shew the slightest inclination to re-establish their marine: they were even forbidden to keep it up; and mere repairs were inveighed against as soon as discovered by the Romans. You are preparing, said they, for projects of hostility—the Carthaginians yielded a melancholy compliance, and the humility of the vanquished continually increased the arrogance of the conquerors. Did they complain, the only redress they obtained was new and more terrible vexations: every thing went to ruin; and yet Carthage could not subsist without commerce, nor protect her commerce without a marine. At length she resolved, but too late, to attain by force or contrivance a relaxation of the policy exercised against her: the pretext was enough, and was seized with eagerness by the Romans. Immediately a second Scipio Africanus, with a Roman fleet and army under his command, made a descent upon Africa; all the maritime places were taken; Carthage was besieged, was captured, and was *laid in ruin.*

"England, without doubt, has not entertained the expectation of capturing and laying Paris in ruins, nor of overturning the French monarchy. Her strength by land is as inferior to ours, as the land forces of Rome were superior to those of Carthage. But her naval

armaments have assumed over ours, during, and since the last war, a similar ascendancy. She has more than ever adopted the same maxim of not suffering us to restore our marine; of watching us without ceasing, in our ports, our docks, and our arsenals; of remarking our projects, our preparations, and all our motions; and of not suffering us to enter upon the most innocent undertaking without being imperiously stopped by haughty insinuations and lordly threats.

"England, it is true, has not literally imposed upon us conditions so hard as the Romans imposed upon Carthage: the treaty of Paris has not reduced and fixed the number of vessels which we shall be permitted to keep up and maintain: we have not been compelled to burn some and surrender others; but England is only the more unjust to us on that account, in wishing to interdict our use of a privilege and a right which we have not resigned. She has no pretexts, in any condition direct or implied, to justify the subjection to which she thinks fit to condemn us: she has also fewer reasons at bottom, derived from interest and self-preservation, to justify her in acting thus towards us, than Rome had in her conduct towards Carthage.

"Superior in all points to England, France

yields to her in the question of marine, and in this question to England alone. If England should allow us the leisure to re-establish our marine, we shall soon be upon a level with her. The natural advantages of France, her superior resources in territory, in population, in industry, and in coinage, together with the patriotic enthusiasm of which our countrymen are susceptible, if once brought into play by a dignified understanding, if economised with wisdom, if developed with energy, would form a collected mass and weight, whose impulse could not fail ultimately *to overturn the Colossus of English ascendancy*.

"The English administration is fully aware of this disproportion, and of the scattered situation of the parts of which their empire is composed; knows how inevitably they tend to break to pieces and dissolve; and has observed the convulsive struggles of Ireland, tired of the yoke. The near and impending danger of a separation between the mother country and the colonies; the immensity of the national debt; the continual exportation of gold and silver, in coin or in ingots, necessary to the maintenance of her commerce; the rational fears that are to be entertained of a public bankruptcy: at the same time that it is necessary to increase the debt, because it is impossible to find new taxes, or perhaps

to create funds to support a new war with France, more judiciously prepared and better conducted than the last. Since therefore, say they, we must have a war sooner or later, it is best to commence it immediately; for the longer we wait the greater will be our imbecility and inadequateness for the undertaking.

"Such are the reasonings of the English administration; and accordingly their attention is unremitted, to keep up the marine upon a respectable footing, and to hold down ours in a state of degradation and continual decay; that thus they may always have it in their power to annihilate us in this respect. The question with them now is, not to destroy France, but to preserve England from destruction: nor are these observations in a state of conjecture; for it is clear, from a collation of documents, that such is their system—a system upon which it behoves us seriously to reflect.

"From this enumeration it appears, that, if England has adopted against France the maxims of the Romans against Carthage, they have had motives more pressing than the vanquishers of Carthage could allege. Rome, it is true, had seen Hannibal at her gates; this recollection was sufficient to induce the most ordinary citizen to give his vote to the destruction of Carthage. London has never had that cause

of irritation and alarm: on the contrary, the English have insulted our coasts and our ports with impunity; they have destroyed one of our arsenals, beaten the alarm to the rest, and captured almost all our colonies. These successes, these different motives for confidence and intrepidity, have not however been able to destroy in the breasts of the English the deep-rooted persuasion, how weak they will be found whenever they are attacked on their own soil: it is that they may not see Hannibal at their gates that the English wish to break up and destroy the road which leads to them: it is a dark and covert fear which renders England so haughty, insolent, and unjust, towards France."

From the preceding discourse we may perceive that England was tormented with panic terrors at the very same time that she fed herself with the idlest illusions, and frequently regarded France as subdued and annihilated. If count Broglio is a faithful reporter of the feelings which actuated the English statesman, such is the conclusion we may draw from his discourse, compared with the sentiment he ascribes to lord Chatham, when he was raised to the helm of affairs.

The same discourse announces to us, that France, at the period of the declaration of war against England for the independence of Ame-

rica, was persuaded, that if England on her part had a plan, the object of which was our destruction, the French nation on the other side had resources capable *of overturning the Colossus of the English ascendancy.*

The two nations therefore were in such a situation, that France was persuaded of the possibility of destroying the maritime power of Great-Britain; while Great-Britain, by provocations and insults, took every occasion of showing to France, that she had no inclination to observe towards her the laws every where practised between independent nations, and that she was as eager and as forward to accept battle as to offer it: meanwhile the French government fostered the American insurrection with supplies of money and men.

CHAP. VII.

Opposite Opinion of the English Government and Opposition respecting the Americans.—Portraits of Lord Chatham and Mr. Burke, the Heads of the Opposition—Celebrated Speech of the Former in Favour of the Americans—His Hatred against France—Education of Mr. Pitt, his Son, in the Sentiments of his Father.

ENGLAND in this perilous circumstance was divided respecting the policy of governing America; and, unfortunately for the nation, the wisest heads were not found on the side of government. Intoxicated with love of domination and command, from the commencement of the American troubles, the two brothers of George III. put themselves at the head of opposition. Lord Chatham, Mr. Burke, and other celebrated men, conducted the proceedings of their party with an audaciousness, a firmness, and an eloquence, upon the effects of which Englishmen still expatiate with pride. The hatred which lord Chatham bore to France was one of the causes which removed him from office; out of a deference to a neighbour who had not ceased to be formidable, George III. had not restored Chatham to his situation,

though he had raised the character of the English government to a pitch of prosperity before unknown. Chatham therefore enlisted himself in the ranks of opposition; and, as the only means of success on that side consist in speaking the language of freedom, and as the government had committed capital faults in the administration of America, Chatham became the advocate of its cause, and the object of its hope. The insurgents depended on two allies, the opposition in the English parliament, and the government of Lewis XVI.

The emissaries therefore of France in America, and the heads of the parliamentary opposition in England, acted as it were in concert. The court of London had three enemies to repulse—the colonists, the opposition, and France. Lord Chatham called the war against America, in his celebrated speeches in parliament, "an unnatural combat;" and it was with similar expressions, that the French party at Philadelphia secretly goaded on the insurgents.

France blamed the military acts of the court of London—so did the English opposition.

The opposition in their debates prophesied, that, in the sequel of the contest, England would be crushed by France; that the cabinet of Versailles would take advantage of the con-

tention between the mother-country and the colonies, to conquer England, and to reduce it into a French province:—The French emissaries at Philadelphia spoke in the same style.

Lord Chatham and Mr. Burke threatened the English government with the rise of a republic in America:—The emissaries of France assured the colonists, that they would obtain their independence.

Lord Chatham in his speeches accused the English government of having been the aggressor: he said, that the colonists had kept themselves on the defensive: he reproached the government with destroying their towns, burning their houses, and despoiling their men of property: he protested, that the Americans had been driven into the war, and that the conduct of Great-Britain alone had alienated their affections, and annihilated the loyalty for which they had formerly been distinguished:—The pamphlets and discourses of the French and Americans were the exact counterpart of these allegations.

The views however of lord Chatham and of the cabinet of Versailles were of a very opposite nature. Our cabinet was desirous of keeping Great-Britain engaged in a domestic war, capable of giving a fatal view to her commerce and her prosperity. Lord Chatham, while he embellished

the American dispute with all the riches of his eloquence, developed a system, which he wished to lead his court to adopt, obliging it at the same time to call him into office to carry it into execution. He had acquired to himself the general admiration in the seven-years-war, by suggesting at once a continental and a maritime hostility against France. Now he saw in the quarrel between Great-Britain and her colonies the means of resuming the helm of affairs; and, decrepit and infirm as he was, such was the activity of his malignant genius against us, that, at the sole name of *Frenchman*, you might see all his senses electrified, his eyes flash with fire, his mind grow young again, and his whole frame renewed.

Burke, equally active in his parliamentary opposition, shared with Chatham in his hatred against us. This Englishman had fewer talents for administration; but he had, like Chatham, an imagination, that took fire every time that the name of *Frenchman* recurred to his mind. The whole world is acquainted with the calumnies he poured out against us before his death. Instead of enlightening us in our wanderings, he spoke of them with fury; instead of softening the ferocity of our revolutionary passions, he exasperated them; and, instead of negotiating, he spoke only of extermination. All the calami-

ties of the revolution were accumulated by him: by the addition of the English hostility, he doubled our distresses. What success can attend the affairs of the house of Hanover, when they are consigned to the direction of men devoured with animosity against France, her formidable adversary? Prudent and judicious ministers are the preservers of the states in which they preside:—ministers bewildered by erroneous opinions, by chimerical systems, or by the fury of the passions, conduct states to their ruin. The prosperity of a state will always be found to bear a just proportion to the serenity of him who conducts it: the whirlwind of the passions, and the dissolution of empires, uniformly go hand in hand. The declamatory invectives of this Englishman against France have gained him the reputation of eloquence; but he was never truly sublime, except when he treated of the interests and the dignity of his country. We may judge of the temper and the species of eloquence of the English nobleman from the following discourse.

At the opening of the parliament in the month of November 1775, the house of lords voted for the continuation of the war against the colonies. "I cannot conceal," said lord Chatham, "the pain that I feel, in seeing the house resolve to persist in the fatal measures

we have adopted against America. Upon such occasions it has been customary for the king to ask the advice of his parliament, and not to dictate to it. The house, my lords, in which we sit, has been denominated the great hereditary council of the nation; but what is the language employed upon the present occasion? You are called upon in a style singularly *cavalier*, to concur in measures already taken: the plan of your proceedings is laid down to you by the king's minister in the tone of a dictator. My lords, is this to be born? What is the object of the speech you have just heard? You are required to consent to grants, not in the proportion that you may judge to be necessary, but such as the minister thinks proper to point out for the fitting out of fleets, and the payment of subsidies, of which you are to know neither the number nor the amount.

"The moment is perilous and terrible. This is no time for the language of adulation. It is our duty to dissipate the illusion, and scatter the clouds which surround the throne. We are called upon, by the trust reposed in us, to represent to the sovereign, in its true colours, and in the whole extent of its danger, the ruin which is at our doors. The measures which have already been pursued have involved this once flourishing empire in the depth of con-

tempt, and brought us to the brink of destruction. This country has lost not only its strength and its customary energy, it has bartered its dignity, and surrendered its honour. France, my lords, has insulted you; she encourages the Americans; she secretly feeds their resources, and you have not dared to declare war against her. Go to Paris, and you will find there the embassadors of those, whom in this house you denominate *rebels*. They are treating there of the reciprocal interests of France and America, in the precise style, and with all the forms, of independent states; and you will bear this insult, as if there could be on earth any thing more humiliating! Our government no longer dares to speak out its resentment, or avenge the insulted honour and dignity of Great-Britain. Yesterday we stood erect, and gave laws to the whole house of Bourbon; to day it is our turn to receive them. Unless peace be instantly made with America, the nation is ruined, the British empire is annihilated.

"Under these portentous circumstances, what has been the conduct of your administration? They have courted the alliance and the succours of the petty, wretched, German princes, whose indigence is the reasonable object of our pity. To cut the throats of our brethren in America, as brave as they are ill treated,

they have entered into negotiations and treaties with butchers, of whom they have bought so much blood for so much gold: they have turned the murderous tempers of the savages of America upon their innocent brethren; upon beings feeble, decrepit, and defenceless; upon old men, upon children, upon infants at the breast, to hew them to pieces, to cut off their noses and their ears, to roast them, to burn them alive, and to burn their still quivering members. These, my lords, are the genuine allies of Great-Britain. The new system is to mark the track of our troops with carnage and destruction. Our ministers have entered into an alliance with the carcase-shops of Germany, and the barbarians and assassins of the five nations of Canada. For my own part, I feel no astonishment at the confederacies they form with bands of robbers—dishonour, under this system, equally stains our arms, whether we be defeated or victorious. Tell me, my lords, were these the means by which we rose to the greatness of which we once boasted? consider the splendor of our former renown; which no corner of the universe has not remarked: all nations paid the homage and regard due to our humanity. Was it then the *tomahawk*, the knife that stripped the skin from the skull, that gave to the English that reputation for generosity and kindness which

eclipsed the glory of all our victories? Was it by turning loose the brute and the savage upon our enemies, that the English military acquired the blended reputation of the soldier, the citizen, and the man? If Great-Britain yet aspire to equal her former glory, we must have recourse to our ancient and tried modes of proceeding: we must not give up our American brethren to be devoured by foreign mercenaries: let us employ English, and English alone, in our battles; then I would sell the shirt from my back, to support a sage and deliberate mode of conduct: but I would not give, no not a shilling, to the present administration, for the execution of a plan not less disgraceful than it is murderous!

"The Americans are wise, industrious, and sober men; they are of too proud a soul, ever to submit to enjoy their property upon precarious and humiliating conditions: they see us plunged in luxury, dissipation, venality, and corruption. If they suffer themselves to be taxed, they will insist upon knowing to what object the produce of the tax is to be applied. My lords, it is my opinion, that to tax the Americans is the height of injustice; that the project is impossible to be executed; and that the true bond of union between us is, that we should exact no contribution from them, but

what necessarily flows from the interchange of commerce. I am far from approving the idea that some men have entertained, that the Americans are to make themselves independent. I will have no commerce with any man, who pleads for that independence; and it is for the purpose of containing the colonies in their constitutional dependence on the mother-country, that I propose to you

"1st, An entire cessation of hostilities.

"2dly, That you appoint a committee, to consider of the proper measures to authorise the crown to send into America commissioners, to treat with its discontented subjects.

"Then, if the Americans refuse to listen to these overtures, it will remain for you to adopt suitable measures, to compel them to return to their duty."

The opinion of Chatham was rejected, and England lost her colonies. The opinions held by this illustrious Englishman, he held in common with the other members of his family. Lord viscount Mahon (his son-in-law) published a pamphlet on this occasion in a similar style; and his eldest son, whom he carefully educated in the same sentiments, resigned the commission he held in the 47th regiment, that he might not serve against the Americans. This circumstance was afterwards very favourable to Mr. Pitt, when he

endeavoured to regain the friendship of America, to the prejudice of their treaty with the court of Versailles.

Lord Chatham did not long survive the period when he pronounced this speech, which the English still quote with pleasure and pride. An act of parliament secured to his posterity a pension of four thousand pounds sterling; and a monument was erected to his memory at the public expense.

The earl of Chatham was endowed with an ardent patriotism, and with oratorical talents, defective in taste indeed, but sufficiently suited to his vehement temper, and his audacious spirit. During his administration he had raised the English nation to the highest pitch of vigorous exertion, and filled it with so gallant an animosity against France, during the seven-years-war, that the peace, so glorious to England, by which it was terminated, is to be considered as the child of the activity and wisdom of his administration. He had exalted the views, the projects, and the power, of the nation over which he presided; to such a point, that after his death it declined insensibly from the eminence on which he had placed it. When he retired from office, he paid into the public treasury a very considerable sum, of which there existed no public demand, but which arose

from his judicious savings upon the secret expenses of his government.

The English do not all of them agree on the great errors committed by this soaring genius. The most considerable of these was that of imagining, that England could never be truly prosperous and powerful, but through the medium of the disgrace and depression of France. Chatham forgot, that, so long as France and England were in a good understanding with each other, they could declare war and proclaim peace in Europe as they pleased: he forgot, that peace is the only source of opulence to commercial nations: he forgot, that the field of commerce was wide enough to enrich both these countries: he forgot the happiness of France and England, while governed by Fleury and Walpole, and the twenty-nine years of calm and prosperity, which characterised their administration. During these twenty-nine years, the English ministry carefully excluded from office every turbulent spirit, and every one hostile to general peace. Those persons in London who were at that time favourable to France were not necessarily enemies to the English government. Chatham, brought up in principles opposite to those of Walpole, so salutary both to France and England; Chatham, whom this interval of

peace excluded from all places of trust and favour; obtained the power, to which he aspired, only through the medium of his rage against the French. I have been assured, that his last words upon his death-bed consisted of a curse imprecated against France, and that it was in exact harmony with his last speech in parliament. One of the chief clerks in the office of M. de Vergennes informed me, that France, content with yielding secret and indirect succours to the Americans, hesitated for a long time before she took decisive and hostile measures against England. He declared to me, that the speech of the earl of Chatham, the object of which was to produce a peace with America, and to unite all the forces of Great-Britain against France, determined M. de Vergennes to make to the king a proposal of open war. The following alternative was the principal argument offered by that minister.

"If we wait," says he, "till England has terminated her differences with her American colonies, she will attack us with all her forces.

"If, on the contrary, we attack her at the time she is making war upon herself, our means and our resources will be doubled. It is

therefore now expedient to declare, that we have recognised the Americans as a sovereign people; since by this means we shall have one more ally to fight for us, while England will have one more enemy to combat."

These considerations determined the court of France to recognise the United States as an independent people; and Lewis XVI., who was averse to the war, yielded to the unanimous sentiment of his council.—It is time we should inquire into the private sentiments of this prince.

CHAP. VIII.

France publishes a Manifesto against Great-Britain—Marginal Notes and Observations of Lewis XVI. upon the rough Draught of this Manifesto.—Sentiments of Lewis XVI. respecting his Duties with regard to other Powers—Contrast of his Sentiments upon this Subject and those of his Council.—The Manifesto is published in neglect of the Observations of Lewis XVI.—Passage of this Manifesto disapproved by the King—Observations and Notes in Opposition to it.—His Council reproaches England with the Murder of Charles I. and Mary Queen of Scots; and the House of Hanover, the present reigning Family, with holding the Crown by Usurpation of the Rights of the House of Stuart.—The Cabinet of Lewis XVI. communicates to Europe in this Manifesto, that England had faithful Spies in the very Heart of the French Government, who disclosed every thing to Lord Stormont.

DRAUGHT OF THE MANIFESTO OF 1779.

HIS majesty plainly declared to the king of England, that he was not, and did not pretend to erect himself into, a judge of the quarrel between Great-Britain and her colo-

OBSERVATIONS OF LEWIS XVI.

WE have done more, we have pronounced them a free people, we have communicated to them existence as a nation; a claim which, when it is disputed by the power which is in

nies; nor did he pretend to avenge any supposed injustices of England.

His majesty has been under the necessity of inviting the Catholic king to unite with him, by virtue of their engagements to redress their respective grievances, and to set bounds to the tyrannical usurpation, which England has entered into, and persists in, in all affairs of a maritime nature.

The king might devote to silence and oblivion the calumnies and mistakes, on which the king of England possession of the sovereignty, cannot be confirmed but by the recognition of foreign powers. It is this act of recognition, into which we have entered, which we are bound to prove to be an act legal and just.

As this tyranny is the true and only cause of the hostile proceedings of France, I conceive, that an exact representation of the English empire, and the use they make of it, is absolutely necessary, as a justifying document in behalf of all the measures we may take against Great-Britain.

I ought not to impute to the king of England the possibility of having calumniated me: according to the

founds his defence; and it is with the greatest repugnance, that he feels himself obliged to take some notice of them.

According to the paper published by the court of London, the king has violated the faith of treaties, *has dishonoured his character*, by entering into secret connexions with the Americans; and, after having exhausted all the *infamous* resources of *perfidy* and *dissimulation*, he has dared to avow the solemn treaty, which his most notorious principles of English law, he cannot be guilty of a calumny. His ministers are universally responsible; they are alone held to be guilty; and it is to them we ought to attribute the calumnies, of which we may have to complain. This remark is of essential importance.

These words, *dishonoured*, *infamous*, *perfidy*, *dissimulation*, are expressions altogether repugnant to the politeness of France, and to the universal language of courts. It would perhaps have been better simply to have underscored them. Every one will feel the indecorum they imply, and will approve of our

ministers have signed with certain obscure agents of the American insurgents.

He remained a tranquil spectator of the contest between Great-Britain and her colonies; and the utter aversion he felt for every thing which could excite the slightest suspicion of his taking any part in the business has prevented him from entering into correspondences of any sort with the insurgents of America.

The English carried to the greatest excess the vexations they practised to the injury of the French commerce in every part of India. They have had the insolence to demand custom-house duties; they have forbid the Indian

moderation and reserve.

It would be difficult to persuade the French nation, the English, or the people of Europe, that France has taken no party in the troubles of the English colonies; it would therefore be better not to utter a syllable on this subject; since, true or false, our asseveration will scarcely be believed.

Instead of publishing a long memorial, the facts of which are subject to discussion and contradiction, and are calculated to perplex the difference which has arisen between France and England, it would be much

manufacturers in silk to dispose of their goods to the French factories, or to enter into any commercial contract with them, upon pain of corporeal punishment; they have even carried so far their arrogance, and the abuse of their superiority, as to inflict lashes on a jamar, or factor, of the French establishment at Dacca. This happened in 1774. Le sieur Bareul, by whom it was done, carried his phrensy to such a height, as to proclaim by the sound of a trumpet, in all the streets of Dacca, as well in his own name as in that of the nabob, and the English East-India company, that he would cause any native of Hindostan to be imore becoming to demonstrate, incontestably, the animosity of the English, as degenerating into cruelty; observing, at the same time, that the pride of the British court prefers the leaving these enormities unpunished, to the doing its duty, and animadverting upon its representatives as they deserve. In seeing my subjects in India exposed to corporeal punishment, France and Europe would acknowledge, with one voice, that we are not yet sunk so low as to be obliged to suffer this insult with impunity; but that the time is come to demonstrate what is due to the character of a Frenchman, and to chastise England. It

paled, who should put himself under the protection of the French flag. These facts were laid, by the French government, before the court of London, which acknowledged that the proceeding was utterly indefensible, but left the sufferers without any sort of reparation.

Lord Stormont has declared, in the house of peers, that he has constantly received the most exact information of the most secret motions of the court of Versailles.

is well known what an effect was produced upon the citizens of London by the spectacle of the two ears of an English fisherman, cut off by the orders of a Spanish viceroy.

A lesson for M. de Vergennes and de Sartines, instructing them, that they should concert with me alone. The English spies would then be utterly defeated. From this article it appears, that I have traitors at my very side, if it refers to my court; or in the public offices, if it refers to the departments of my ministers. It would have been better to

have contrived to mislead the adversary with false intelligence, to use a species of reprisal so easily at hand, and to have been less severe respecting an ill-timed delicacy *.

The court of London has exerted her force to reduce the Americans to unconditional submission: but what has been the fruit of her efforts? Have they not conduced to prove to America, to Europe, and to the court of London itself, the impossibility under which it labours, of bringing the Americans again under its yoke.

What if England should reply to this, that she should have been able to have repressed the rebellion, if France had not lent her aid to the insurgents?

* It would be a curious circumstance if the traitors referred to in the manifesto should prove to be the very persons who wrote it. This would afford a full solution for the absurdities of a diplomatical paper so little decent in itself, so unworthy of a great nation, and so susceptible of being decisively refuted on the part of the British cabinet.

The English government would no doubt have better defended their cause, if they could have proved, that a lawful territory could, upon no supposition, be forfeited; but who would have the assurance to make such an assertion, in opposition to the annals of all the countries in the world? How could such an assertion be reconciled with the facts which are presented to us in the history of Mary Stewart, of Charles I., and of James II., or with the laws by which the crown of England has been secured to the present reigning family? It must, therefore, be admitted as an incontestable maxim, that, however lawful, established, and acSovereigns have on various occasions added to and lost their different possessions; but England may reply to this article, by declaring, that she should not have lost hers, if France had not interfered in the struggle: and the opinion is generally received, that France has so interfered. As to the assassination of king Charles, and of Mary queen of Scots, these are crimes which England has regarded as her disgrace, for more than a hundred years past; we ought not, therefore, to revive the memory of them, by reproaches thus severe and humiliating; more especially as a declaration of war like the present is construed as the act of a

knowledged, may have been the jurisdiction of England over America, it was possible for her to forfeit it.

The king of France is not the proper judge of the domestic quarrels of the English government. Neither the law of nations, nor any existing treaties, nor the abstract principles either of politics or morality, oblige him to be the guardian of the fidelity which the subjects of England may owe to their sovereign.

sovereign of France in full possession of the affections of his people. The house of Hanover besides is entirely exempt from all share in these criminal enterprises *.

We have, however, made ourselves the judges by the interference we have practised, and the advantage we have endeavoured to derive from the contest.

* Lewis XVI. might have added, that there are three memorable days in the English calendar, marked out as connected with this subject. The 30th of January bears the appellation of *the Anniversary of the Martyrdom of King Charles I.*; the 29th of May is the festival of the revival of monarchy, and the restoration of Charles II.; and on the 4th of November is celebrated the landing of king William, and the expulsion of the house of Stuart.

The Flemings having concluded the pacification of Ghent, for the defence of their liberties, and the support of the protestant worship, queen Elizabeth allied herself to them by a secret treaty.

The conduct of Elizabeth is neither a rule nor a precedent in the code of the law of nations. This observation, like the preceding ones, would justify England in lending an open assistance to the discontented Bretons, to the French protestants, or, indeed, to any party of Frenchmen who thought proper to resist the authority of their sovereign.

For several years past the parliament of England has been principally occupied, in its debates, with the troubles of America. The question has been examined and argued in all its relations, and in every possible point of view. The insurgents have constantly had their advocates in that

The party here alluded to was in opposition to the government; and if it is to be permitted to a foreign power to concur with such a party, the maxim at least has never been avowed in the code of the law of nations; nor is it becoming in France to give an example of the practice. England

assembly, as firm in the cause they defended, as distinguished by their talents and their rank. No inconsiderable portion of the English nation has uniformly supported the cause of the colonies: there are even natives, of all conditions, in that island, who, far from regarding them as guilty of high-treason, have, on the contrary, imputed that crime to those members of the British parliament, who, in discharge of certain engagements to the administration, have applauded the persecution of the unfortunate Americans. The persons here alluded to have not hesitated to denominate that persecution a tyranny, incompatible with, and may hereafter surprise the court of Versailles, involved in a dispute with the Bretons or with the parliaments. She may adopt a conduct the most fatal to our interests, and may justify herself by retaliating upon us these very expressions.

Neither will it be becoming in me to speak of the engagements which the English administration may have secretly contracted with the members of the English parliament. This article must be suppressed.

subversive of, the English constitution. Now, if the English themselves have entered on the justification of the Americans, if they have done this with impunity in the midst of the national assembly, and in various authentic and acknowledged publications, and if the persons who have done this have never been brought in question as traitors to their country, with what propriety does the English nation treat the king of France as the most perfidious of sovereigns for a conduct perfectly similar?

It has been for a long time the maxim of the court of London, that she is entitled to the exclusive dominion of the seas.

The English have reproached us with similar intentions upon the continent of Europe, and have repeatedly declared war against us, to repress

Let all the treaties of the court of London be examined, from the time of Cromwel; we shall find in every one of them traits, as subtle as they are disgusting, of the haughty, envious, and overbearing policy of that court.

such overweening pretensions.

I should prefer the striking out the name of Cromwel from this passage, and the substituting the date of his government. The English have often enough treated it as the reproach of France, that we recognised the power of this odious man. I would indeed suppress the whole article; for, since Cromwel, we have added many provinces and districts to the territories of France. This policy, on our part, has been called by the British cabinet, in its manifestoes, *the effect of the ambition of the house of Bourbon.*

The Americans are not subjects to the king of France. He is nei-

It is very evident that we did not observe a neutrality, particu-

ther the judge nor the arbitrator of the domestic quarrels of England. He had resolved on a neutral conduct; and he would have broken that neutrality, in the most odious manner, had he pronounced a sentence of condemnation on the Americans.

larly when we joined our forces to those of the Anglo-American insurgents, to repel the arms of the British government. It is necessary that this state-paper should be new modelled, in such a manner that the points liable to controversy may be passed over in silence; and that we only offer to the consideration of France, and of Europe, the great injury arising to the general safety, from suffering Great-Britain to speak in the tone which she has lately employed towards all the maritime and continental powers. It is necessary to prove, that she has abused her advantages, by various acts of infraction and violence, which have

drawn upon her the censure and the secret hatred of states, whose policy is more mild and more conformable to the sentiments of humanity. Expressions, and a system of conduct, such as these, appear to be compatible with the dignity of France.

CHAP. IX.

Considerations on the Effects of the Alliance of France with the American Insurgents.

IT appears from the preceding chapter, that Lewis XVI. was secretly ashamed of the part he was playing, and that he wished, in his manifestoes, to reduce the number of opportunities for reproach, which England might find in replying to his memorials. The greatest inconvenience he incurred was the example of insurrection he gave to his subjects; since, in granting succours to the Americans, he patronised a doctrine subversive of the basis of his own government.

The king imposed in France, by virtue of his royal prerogative, all sorts of taxes; and, in America, he espoused the cause of a people who revolted upon no other pretence than that of the stamp-act.

The French monarchy was indebted for its splendor to the submission of its inhabitants, to the directing and absolute controul of their government; and the troops of the king went, sword in hand, to support at Philadelphia the

doctrine of the act of American independence, which maintained, expressly and unequivocally, that the just power of governments could only be derived from the consent of the people.

In France, our monarchy owed its stability and repose to the particular devotion of the French to the house of Bourbon, and the exemplary adherence to the race of their sovereigns; and Lewis XVI., in an age of independence and innovation, lent his countenance, in America, to the manifesto which declared, that the people have a right to abolish the existing form of their government, to substitute another, and to give to the state that mode of constitution, which appears to them best adapted to insure to them tranquillity and happiness.

In France the subject had lost all right, all legislative power, all partition of authorities between the sovereign and the people; and Lewis XVI. sent an army to America, to support the extraordinary assertion, that the right which the people have to shake off the yoke of their government, is changed into a duty when the government manifests a design to subject the people to despotism.

In fine, Lewis XVI. sent to Philadelphia the flower of his troops, conducted by young officers, who, when they quitted Paris, carried with them the manners of Frenchmen, and a disposition

strictly conformed to despotism and the court of Versailles; but who, when they arrived at the place of their destination, found themselves called upon to expose their lives in the maintenance of opinions of such a nature as, at all times, and in all countries, have given a concussion to the human mind, have let loose the passions of our species, have placed governments in the most perilous situation, and have utterly annihilated all those whose genius and force were inferior to the genius and force of the people who attacked them.

The greater part of those democrats of noble rank, who abandoned their order in 1789, who united themselves with the commons, who proposed the declaration of the rights of man, who conducted the revolution against the ancient government, who abolished the privileges on the 4th of August, who annihilated the monarchy of Henry IV. and Lewis XIV., and who proclaimed insurrection against despotism to be the most sacred of all duties, performed their revolutionary studies in the United States. It is impossible not to recollect the names of La Fayette, d'Estaing, Rochambeau, Beauharnais, Lausun (Biron), Custines, Noailles, the two Lameths, Gouvion, Mathieu Dumas, Berthier, &c. &c.

It is therefore with reason that I consider as

one memorable era in the reign of Lewis XVI. the independence of America protected by his armies, since, upon that occasion, the young nobility of France went to Philadelphia to instruct themselves in the art of revolutionising monarchies, of surrendering their power into the hands of a democracy, and of metamorphosing monarchical states into republican ones.

CHAP. X.

Of the Sentiments of the Opposition in France in Relation to the American War.

THERE were not wanting persons of sagacity in France, who reprobated the alliance of their country with the United States. "The tides," said they, "of destructive opinion, will flow back upon the old continent, and prove to us a source of the greatest calamities." Others thought, that they saw in the Americans, a manliness of character, and an energy of sentiment, which would render them conquerors, and raise up great states there to the terror of Europe.

M. de Choiseul, whose favourite system was to leave England and her colonies to destroy one another, instead of deciding the quarrel by a declaration in favour of America, disapproved of every thing that was done on this occasion. He was still the leader and the soul of a powerful party, composed of such as adhered to the house of Austria, and who incessantly endeavoured to thwart the measures of the count de Vergennes. The memorial of Beaumarchais, in reply to the

manifesto of the court of London, afforded the occasion to the duke of Choiseul to give vent to his displeasure. The partisans of the war were incessantly proclaiming, that France was going to efface, by glorious expeditions, and a generous interference in behalf of the oppressed, the ignominy of the last war, and the humiliating peace which she had concluded in 1763. Some called to recollection the English commissioner admitted by the duke of Choiseul; and others, imagining that England had subjected France, by the last treaty of peace, to the condition of having at sea only a certain number of vessels, spoke with emphasis of the future power of our marine, and the annihilation of the British navy. The duke of Choiseul, and the duke of Praslin, offended at a critique so humiliating to their administration, complained to M. de Vergennes of the publication of M. de Beaumarchais. We may judge of what they felt upon the occasion by the following expressions, employed by the duke of Choiseul:—"I am assured, that the production of M. de Beaumarchais has been read to you. It cannot be doubted, by the manner in which it is published, that it has received the approbation of government. Upon that supposition, I apprehend, that you will feel it very natural that I should have the honour of pointing out to you, that there are in this publi-

cation a misrepresentation of facts, and a defiance of good sense, upon which it is just, decent, and even demanded by the public interests, that the king and the nation should be authentically informed. M. de Beaumarchais says, that he felt his courage revive, when he thought that his country would at length be avenged of the abasement to which she had submitted, when, in 1763, a small number of vessels had been specified, in the treaty of peace, as all that our haughty opponent would suffer us to maintain. You, sir, are acquainted with the treaty of 1763: you know, that no assertion can be so destitute of truth, or so unsupported by reason, as that which M. de Beaumarchais has allowed himself so peremptorily to advance. If you have entered upon an examination of what was done in negotiating that treaty, the documents of which ought to be in your office; you must have seen, that it was England who made the first overtures of peace; and that, whatever might be her successes in the war, she respected too much the greatness of our sovereign to think of proposing to him so disgraceful a condition."

An *arrêt* of the council of state suppressed the publication, which the government had ordered Beaumarchais to distribute. In this *arrêt* the king declares, not only that there was no such condition in the treaty, but that the treaty was

absolutely without secret articles of any kind. The letter of M. de Choiseul, that of M. de Praslin, the reply of M. de Vergennes, and the *arrêt* of council, appeared in all the journals. The friends of M. de Vergennes, however, privately alleged, that the treaty did not indeed contain a clause of this sort; but that the degradation of France under M. de Choiseul was such, that the condition of existing without a marine was perfectly and distinctly understood; and that the English embassador accordingly, upon the smallest symptom of augmenting the number of our ships, represented the necessity of not alarming the people of England by proceedings which necessarily announced an hostile design.

The famous English commissioner was not provided for by any stipulation of the treaty; yet his existence at Dunkirk was a matter of public notoriety.

When the time came, however, that our successes in America gave their stamp to the policy of Lewis XVI. in the eyes of those who had not approved of the treaty, the friends of M. de Choiseul did not fail to attribute to him the honour of having prepared, in 1763, the troubles of America. His party averred, with equal confidence, that the duke had fomented, in London, the troubles relative to

Wilkes. "It was with the same view," said he, "that I raised up Hyder Ali in Indostan, as the foe of the English possessions; and that I blew up the war betwixt the Russians and Turks, for the purpose of stripping England, in the sequel, of her commerce with Russia, and her commerce in the Levant."

But, if the duke of Choiseul really conceived this plan, it was impossible for it to succeed in conformity to his mode of proceeding. The friends of M. de Vergennes replied to his statement, that the court of London had triumphed over the first troubles which he boasted of having produced; and that, if France had not openly favoured the insurgents of America, and if Holland and Spain had not concurred in this policy, the authors of the insurrection would in all probability have been subjected and brought to punishment, just like any common insurrection of the populace of London. As to the disturbances in the East-Indies, the English, instead of being deprived of their possessions, only derived new confidence from the combat; and the troubles of Poland, which M. de Choiseul had never been seriously desirous to appease, had terminated in the dismemberment of that country. The war of the Turks against the Russians had augmented the power of the latter; and the vaunted alliance between

France and Austria was the genuine parent of the disgraceful peace of 1763.

It was thus that the two parties reciprocally reproached each other, while the friends of M. de Choiseul wished to attribute to him the troubles of America. We will now suspend the history of the misunderstandings between France and England, to notice, in our next volume, the events which occurred at this time in the internal government of France. Lewis XVI. had called Mr. Necker to the administration of the finances.

OFFICIAL PAPERS

RELATIVE TO

The Administrations of Turgot, Malesherbes, and St. Germain.

Letter written by M. Turgot to the King on his Appointment to the Office of Comptroller-General of the Finances.

"SIRE, August 24, 1774.

"HAVING quitted your majesty's closet, full of the anxiety which the immensity of the trust that you have imposed upon me impresses my mind, and agitated by the sentiments that the affecting goodness by which you condescended to encourage me has excited, I hasten to lay at your feet my respectful gratitude, together with the absolute dedication of my whole life.

"You have been pleased to permit me to lay before you upon paper the engagement which your majesty has entered into with yourself, to support me in the execution of those plans of economy, which, at every moment, and in the present more than in any other, are of indispensable necessity. I could have wished to have detailed the reflexions that are suggested to me by the present posture of the finances, but the time will not permit me; and I reserve myself for a more ample explanation, when I shall have obtained more accurate information. I con-

fine myself in the present moment, sire, to call to your recollection three words:

"No national bankruptcy.

"No increase of taxes.

"No new loans.

"No bankruptcy; neither avowed nor disguised under compulsory reductions.

"No increase of taxes;—the reason your majesty will find in the situation of your people, and still more in your own heart.

"No new loans;—for every loan, by diminishing the amount of the free revenue, necessarily produces at last a bankruptcy, or an increase of taxes. In a period of peace, money should not be borrowed, unless to liquidate old debts, or to discharge others bearing a higher interest.

"To obtain these three points there is but one method, that of reducing the expenditure below the receipt, and so much below it as to leave twenty millions (£.833,333.) every year for the redemption of former debts. Without this precaution, the first cannon-ball that is fired will force the state to a public bankruptcy.

"It is asked, in what the retrenchment is to be made? And every department will maintain, that, as far as relates to itself, there is scarcely a single expenditure which is not indispensable. The reasons alleged may be very good; but as there can be none for performing impossibilities, it is requisite that all these reasons should give way to the irresistible necessity of economy.

"It is this necessity then that calls upon your majesty to oblige each department to concert with the minister of the finances. It is indispensable that he should be allowed

to discuss with each, in your majesty's presence, the degree of necessity of its proposed expense. Above all, it is requisite, sire, when you have thus fixed upon the funds of each department, that you should forbid him who is charged with it to engage for any new expense, without having first consulted with the minister of finance on the means of supplying it. Without this, each department will load itself with debts, which will still be the debts of your majesty; and the person directing the finances can never answer for any correspondence between the expenditure and the receipt.

"Your majesty knows, that one of the greatest obstacles to economy is the multitude of solicitations to which you are perpetually exposed, and to which the too great facility of your predecessors in acceding, has unfortunately given sanction. You must, sire, against your bounty be armed by your bounty; and consider whence the money that you may distribute among your courtiers is drawn; and contrast the misery of those from whom it is sometimes necessary to wrest it, by the most rigorous measures, with the situation of those who have the best title to your liberality.

"There are favours, to the conferring of which it has seemed the more easy to give way, because they do not immediately press upon the public treasury: such are interests and covert partnerships and privileges.

"Yet these are of all others the most dangerous and the most liable to abuse. All profit upon the public taxes, that is not absolutely necessary for their collection, should be a fund consecrated to the relief of the contributors, and to the necessities of the state. All participation in the profit of the receivers-general is a source of corrup-

tion to men of rank, and of vexation to the people, by creating powerful and concealed protectors of every kind of abuse.

"A hope may be indulged, that, by the improvement of agriculture, by the suppression of abuses in the collection of the revenue, and by a more equal distribution of the taxes, the people may be sensibly relieved, without greatly diminishing the public income: but, unless economy be first adopted, no reform will be possible; for there is no reform which does not involve the risque of some interruption in the collection of the finances; and one must expect a multiplicity of embarrassments, which will be created by the manœuvres and clamours of men of every description, interested in perpetuating these abuses, as there is not one of those that is not the support of somebody."

[For the remainder of this letter, see Vol. II. page 272, and following.]

LETTER *written by M. Turgot to Lewis XVI. a few Days before he retired from the Ministry.*

"SIRE, April 30, 1776.

"I HAVE received the papers which your majesty with so much reason considers as very extraordinary ones, and which you have had the goodness to send me by the post. I shall take the liberty to offer one observation on this subject, which is, that it is as easy to unseal the letter of a king as of a private individual, that the letter of such a person is naturally more alluring to

the eye of curiosity, and that those whose office it is to inspect letters may feel a thousand motives for yielding to this curiosity. I have no reason whatever to believe, that M. D'Ogin is capable of abusing the confidence of your majesty in such a point; and however hostile, both by interest and connexions, he may be to my administration, I am very far from imputing to him so dishonest a proceeding: but the bare possibility of it is sufficient to recommend precaution. I have not, myself, since I have been in place, written a single letter, that contained any thing important, by post. I should think, that your majesty would do well to adopt this rule, and to recollect, that the letters of Lewis XV. have sometimes been read, even in his own cabinet. It is easy, sire, when there is any thing secret to be communicated to me, to direct one of the valets in your majesty's confidence to dispatch a man on horseback with your letter; but who, on account of the remarks that might be made, should not belong to your majesty's establishment. Pardon, sire, this suggestion, which is dictated by my zeal to serve you.

"I shall proceed to develop to your majesty a snare that has been laid with a view to impeach your justice. In proposing to your majesty a revision of Chanvalon's trial, it was represented, that it was necessary to re-examine a case, in which so serious a charge as that of having suppressed a portion of the evidence was brought against the attorney. Sire, if every party that has been condemned in a court of justice were allowed to offer vaguely similar allegations, we should have to go over every trial a second time. The judgment passed upon M. de Chanvalon was the result of

the most minute and solemn investigation. The report given in by my brother had been communicated to him; and he had replied to it by a very long memorial, in which he must no doubt have cited all the documents that were favourable to his cause. How was it possible for M. Chardon to suppress those documents, when the memorials are under the eyes of the commissioners, who would surely have demanded them.

" This is not all. On what plea is it that this process has been re-examined? On that of a petition presented by Chanvalon. In this petition, he complains that some of the papers relating to his trial had been suppressed: but what right could he have to bring forward such a circumstance after an interval of eight years, during which he has been perfecty silent on the subject? Or rather, why was it not mentioned when he urged for the first time a new trial? If he had complained of it, the question would certainly not have escaped the examination of such commissioners as he employed.

" In short, if the plea of the suppression of papers could be admitted as a pretext for a re-examination, it ought at least to be grounded on something more than a vague allegation. The papers themselves should be named and designated; the allegation should be communicated to the attorney, who should justify himself to the same commissioners, as they alone can know if the papers so designated had previously come before them or not. Who could pronounce whether they had been actually produced, or only comprised in the inventory delivered to the attorney? How then could M. Sartines think of putting the re-examination into the hands of new commissioners? Was there any reason for distrusting Messrs.

d'Aguesseau, de Marville, de Villeneuve, de Forqueux? No; without doubt. But these gentlemen were too well informed in regard to the merits of the affair; they could not be assembled without publicity; and *secret* operation was the object desired.

"But why was secret operation desired? Last year M. de Sartines informed me of all the proceedings, demanded as it were my consent, which I took care not to refuse him, and pressed me, in spite of my reluctance, to be present at the minute statement that M. Chardon was to make at his house. Now, on the contrary, the transactions are carried on in mystery, and nothing transpires that M. de Sartines can possibly prevent. I no longer hear any thing of being applied to before-hand. However, I suppose it is well known, that I am not a man to enforce a refusal to the just claims of any one. But the object now, is to obtain the favour of M. de Choiseul before his departure for Chanteloup. It is easy to explain the motives of this deference. Last year, the appointment of M. de Malesherbes to the ministry, and the favours I received from your majesty, excluded the hope of my downfall, so that it was essential to obtain my friendship or to seem to desire it. This year, the retreat of M. de Malesherbes, *the decided union of all parties against me, the absolute desertion I experience, the well known enmity of M. de Miroménil, and his influence over M. de Maurepas, all persuade me, that I am sustained but by a thread.* But even this thread must be broken, and a new woof secretly laid that shall revive an old and forgotten affair, which shall furnish an occasion to publish defamatory memorials, at first in simple manuscript, and afterwards in print, that I may

consume my time in defending my brother and even myself, which at least announces my discredit. This, sire, is the reason why the conduct of M. de Sartines in 1776 is so different from the conduct of M. de Sartines in 1775.

Your majesty has done me the honour to inform me, that neither my brother nor myself were in question. I did not doubt that those gentlemen would be too dextrous to venture at first on announcing the whole of their project; they are too well versed in their occupation for this. The affair once engaged in, Chanvalon necessarily introduces my brother into it. Can he have any other aim? any other interest? Can this trial be renewed without recalling all the circumstances of it? He has no other view, than to defame my brother, and no other interest, than to cause himself to be declared innocent, and afterwards to transform my brother from a judge to a party in the process, and to obtain of him damages and costs of suit. The intriguers who protect him care very little either about him or M. Chardon, but they care a great deal about decrying me as the favourer of the pretended vexations of my brother. This is the point, sire, to which it was necessary to conduct you; at the same time avoiding terms, and deceiving both your love of justice and your benevolence, for the purpose of employing the resources of knavery against me.

"To conclude, sire, I feel great satisfaction in being able to develop this intrigue, which will assist your knowledge of mankind. But I do not at present solicit your interference. I take every thing on myself. I shall give proper notice to M. de Maurepas. I shall make him sensible of the indignity of the unfair proceedings which

have been adopted. I shall require of M. de Sartines, that the petition of M. Chanvalon be delivered to the old commissioners, that they may examine the case. I am certain, that the moment M. de Sartines perceives he is discovered, he will resume the path of rectitude.

I am, &c. Sire,

TURGOT."

Satirical Letter against the Administration of M. Turgot, circulated in Manuscript at the Court of Versailles, at the Commencement of the Year 1776 (found in the Cabinet of Marshal Richelieu.)

[This letter is written in the assumed person of abbé Terray, the predecessor of M. Turgot.]

"THE party, sir, which twelve months ago raised you to the administration, amused us with the most lofty presages of your future operations. They said, 'it is not intrigue, and it is not chance, which has raised this man to office, it is his personal merit. Far different from those who have gone before him, he will dedicate his attention to the doing what the duties of his place require of him, and not to the keeping of his place as long as he can. The system of his predecessor will not be his. He is a man of genius, who will form his own agents, his own principles, and a plan, of which the result will be to alleviate oppression, to diminish the taxes, and to revive agriculture and commerce.'

"The public has now patiently waited for a whole year, expecting the execution of these promises. I could, however, if I pleased, compose an interesting and instructive

volume of the faults you have committed; 1st, against the well-being of the finances of France; and, 2dly, against the principles of a sound statesman and a good politician.

"More fortunate at your accession to office than I was, I left you nothing but good deeds to perform; the ill was completed to your hands. I had established an equilibrium between the receipt and the expenditure. I left the royal coffers amply replenished as the days of payment came round. You had nothing to do but to receive. All then that remained for you was to invent the best means of relieving the public burdens, which you decided that I had increased beyond all just proportion to the ability of the subject and the necessities of the king; adding, that, when you came into office, you found the state without a system, and your predecessors shifting at random from day to day as they could.

"It was for your genius to supply these defects. You were not to suffer yourself to be guided by events. You were to make yourself master of events: then the public would have recognised in my successor a genuine statesman; or, if your plan was to let every thing take its ordinary course, you ought then, previously to undertaking any thing, to have consulted and drawn information from all those who were capable of affording it, to have reduced the different branches of the finances into one system, to have made the past your instructor for the future, and to have done, at the head of the revenue, what a skilful pilot does at the head of his vessel, observe the rocks, the clouds, and the winds, but still, with an eye to his compass, that he may not go out of the track in which he is appointed to steer. You ought to have been the pilot of the government of France.

"What is it you have done? given up body and soul

to a sect which has elected you for their chief; you act only as they dictate, and you see only with their eyes. Their doctrines of administration are a tissue of ignorance, narrow views, and sophistry. The principles of their system are groundless and mistaken; the injury, therefore, that they do in office, and the mischiefs they inflict on the people of France, are continually growing more formidable. You have weakened the love of his subjects towards the best of kings. You have involved your sovereign, without his being aware of it, in a chaos of errors, from which you can never extricate him.

"The fermentation we see going on in the interior of the kingdom is your work. Nothing can more plainly demonstrate the radical imperfection of your measures. Under Lewis XV. the people suffered, the people bemoaned themselves, but they did not revolt. Lewis XVI. acceded to the crown under the happiest and most peaceable auspices. The three last months of my administration were without a storm. The first time I entered his closet, the king declared his intentions to me, and said,

"'I wish to render my subjects as happy as if they were my children. I am resolved to study their welfare, and to reign over them like a good father in the midst of his family. To you I commit the office of remedying past oppression, and of communicating to me the means to relieve the burdens of my subjects. I have wise laws to propose to them, which I shall carry into execution after they have first undergone the discussion of my counsel, *and when the representatives of the nation shall have approved them.* If, after that, any man shall be found to disobey them, the laws themselves shall be his judges; and I am, myself, more than all, desirous to reign according to the laws, and by the laws.'

"Such were the intentions of the new monarch. I hastened to justify the confidence he reposed in me, and to obey his orders.

"I caused an enormous labour to be performed in my department, that I might place under the inspection of the king the different documents which should enable him to judge of the state of his finances; and I was already certain of executing what he demanded of me in the course of the current year, when you were appointed to my place.

"Immediately, my dear successor, I formed my opinion of you; and the conduct you have held towards all the subordinate officers I left behind me, has convinced me, that you were indeed the omega of financiers.

"My tall Destouches, for example, whom your hireling scribblers have so pitilessly attacked, and so basely calumniated, was the very man with whose services you could the least dispense at your entrance into office. He was the confident of a part of my secrets, and might have been of essential use to you in the career upon which you entered, where you were entirely a novice, and are still a novice. He would have instructed you in the routine, and have pointed out to you methods, of which you might have made excellent advantage. A good minister ought to have neither prejudice nor prepossession; he ought to look to the thing, and gladly take hold of whatever most effectually secures it. How infinitely superior, in a word, was my Destouches to your L.....

"And what sort of a man was this L... of yours? In the outset of life a schoolmaster; next, a pitiful pleader; and at last first clerk in the office of M. Turgot. Let us compare the merit of one with the other. Destouches in the department of the farmers-general acquired a great

reputation; his employer perceived in him great talents. I thought it an object to attach him to me, in consideration of the intimate acquaintance he had with the branch of government it was essential to me to know, and I was not disappointed. Assisted by his lights, I compelled the farmers-general to pay us as the price of their lease forty millions more than they ever paid before. I introduced other taxes, which I grant were very burdensome, but they were neceſſary; and I do not perceive that you have abolished any one of them.

"Your L.... has communicated to you a single project, the tendency of which is nothing less than to ruin 14 or 15,000 souls, and to overturn an arrangement, which, once overturned, you will never be able to restore. All the good that can result to the state from this project, is to give places to the yearly value of 10,000 livres to M. L.... 's relations, who has already provided for cousins, five and six times removed, on his right and on his left hand.

"The head of this great enterprise, your particular confident, the man, in a word, against whom you suffer no one to utter an insinuation, did not find with me the same credit as he has found with you. He submitted to me his project in the year 1772. I caused the details to be examined in my department, and found the benefit to result to be purely imaginary, and to have no existence but in the brain of its author. I made similar inquiries into the character of the sieur Barnard, whom I discovered to be a mere intriguer, who had been obliged clandestinely to withdraw himself from a place he occupied, for having put into his pocket a part of the public funds, and for having afterwards committed a frau-

dulent bankruptcy. Upon these facts, he had been tried and adjudged contumaceous. This man is now become the worthy colleague of L....; presents you projects; imposes on you with false calculations; and persuades you to make a general census of the whole kingdom, and to oblige all travellers to go post. Indeed, my dear successor, you confide in those about you without due examination."

NOTE

On the Effects produced among the French Soldiery by the Punishment of Blows with the flat Sword, instituted by the Count de St. Germain *.

"THE duke of Laval, son of the marshal of that name, possesses a harsh and inflexible character, but has the reputation of being a good officer. He holds the rank of brigadier-general, and was employed in that quality in the little army encamped at St. Omer's, commanded by the prince of Condé. He was exercising some regiments of infantry; and observing, as he stood opposite to the regiment of Condé, in one of the grenadier-companies, some disorder in the ranks, and that the line was broken, he flew into a violent passion, and dispensed, indiscriminately to the right and left, blows with his sword. Among the rest was a grenadier, whose look and manner seemed to set the duke at defiance: he struck this man on the breast with the pummel of his sword, and

* The most distinguished among the military were filled with indignation against the institution of this punishment; and the following anecdote is a proof of what we have advanced on the subject respecting M. de St. Germain.

with so much violence, that the grenadier fell to the ground, and spit blood. This act of brutality so highly exasperated the troop, that they crowded together to assist the sufferer, and, by thus interrupting the discipline of the day, produced what is called *an event*. The duke of Bourbon enquiring what was the matter, the duke of Laval carelessly replied, 'Oh, nothing, my lord, do you not see that he is only a little chicken-hearted?' The prince, affected by the man's situation, and displeased with the brutality of the action, replied, that if the grenadier had thought proper to kill him in return, he would not have failed to have demanded the king's pardon for him. The duke of Laval made no further answer.

"However, in the following night, the thirty grenadiers of this company went to the duke of Laval's bed-chamber, with a determination to strangle him. Fortunately for him, he happened to be passing the night at play in another house: as soon as they were informed of this, they set out together with the intention of deserting from the army, and going out of the kingdom; but the count de Sesmaison, colonel of Condé's regiment, hearing of the circumstance, overtook them as they were resolutely proceeding; he remonstrated with them in the most pathetic manner, promised them, that, if they would return, they should not be punished, or that if, in spite of his exertions, they should at last be subjected to punishment, he himself would share it with them. The grenadiers, affected with the language of their colonel, returned to the camp, and threw themselves at the feet of the prince of Condé, who addressed them in terms of lenity, but not unsuitable to the dignity of the occasion, and promised them their pardon, which he was to demand of the king. Accordingly,

he instantly wrote to his majesty, who, in bestowing the pardon, observed, that he desired to be as much loved by his troops, as the prince of Condé was adored by them."

This is a specimen of the manner in which the punishment of blows with the flat sword, instituted by the count de St. Germain, was received by the French soldiery.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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